FREE WORLD

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devoted to

Democracy and World Affairs

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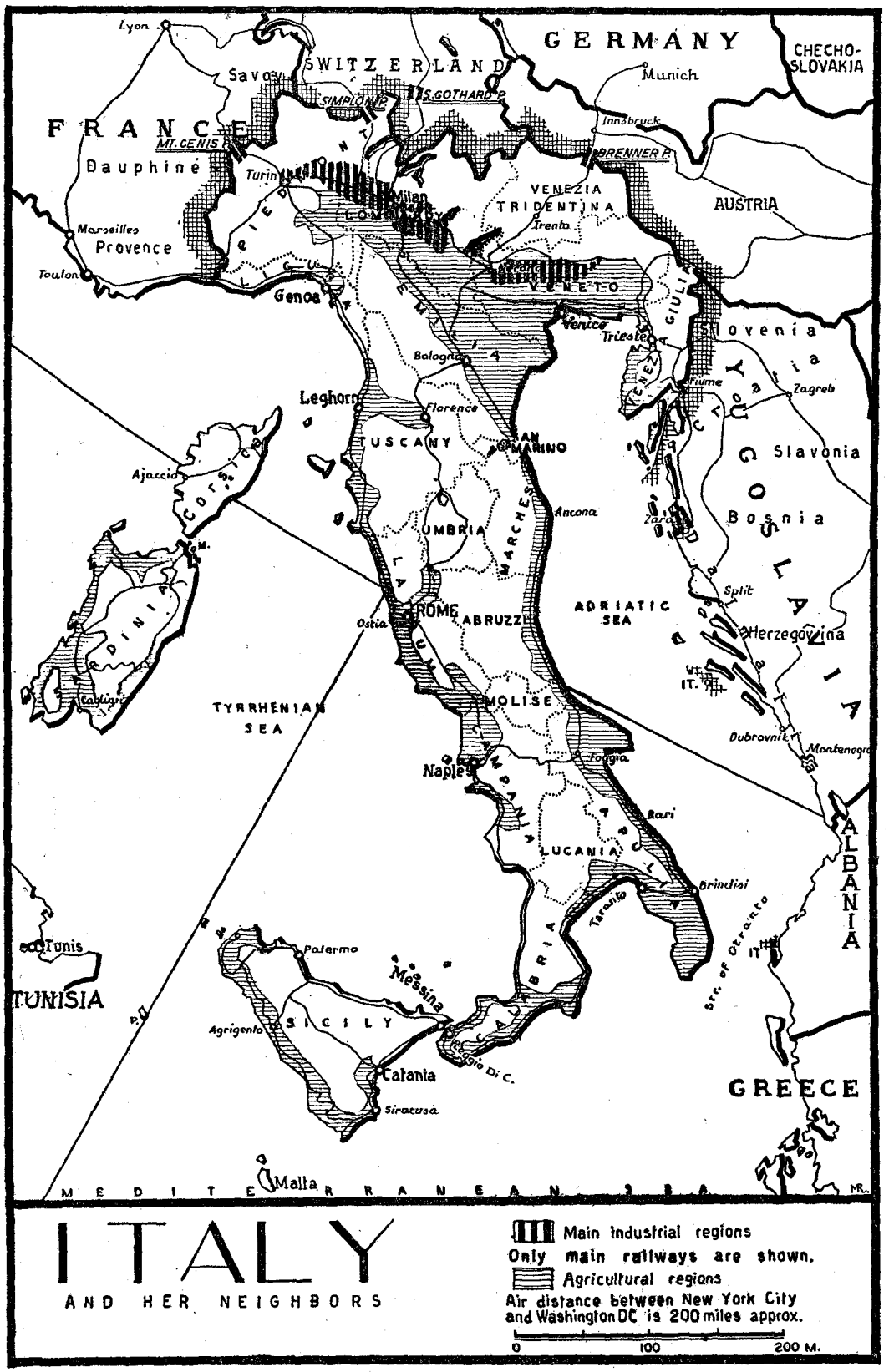

ITALY

AND HER NEIGHBORS

Main industrial regions

Only main railways are shown.

Agricultural regions

Air distance between New York City and Washington DC is 200 miles approx.

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EDITORIALS

Need for a Manifesto

THE Italian episode, we hope, will serve as a final lesson to the United Nations that we must have no illusions about the accomplices of fascism. The King and Badoglio—as we have foreseen and others have not—remained faithful to their record of fascist affiliation, and did not take Italy out of the war. On the contrary, in trying to win precious time for Germany to strengthen her position in the north, they have lengthened the time of the Axis hold upon Europe. Let that be remembered on the day of reckoning.

The governments of the United Nations must realize that their only Allies on the Continent are the peoples of Europe and not the various puppets, the military henchmen of fascism. The workers of Milan and Turin did not hesitate, and do not hesitate every day, to risk their lives in peace demonstrations—they are our Allies.

At the moment when the United Nations are preparing decisive blows against the Axis, it is necessary to let the people of the world know that the lesson of the most recent events has been learned and that the United Nations are determined to bring about a free world. A new manifesto of the Democracies, addressed to all humanity, is necessary to put an end to the anxiety and confusion created by the various policies of expediency.

We are told by one who has just returned from North Africa that Axis propaganda has left a deep impression on the population, and that this fascist propaganda is being continued by radio, and secretly, even today. Our informant, a very competent and careful observer, points out that people still say, "The Americans and the British will again abandon us after the war, and our only hope is an understanding with Germany, whether nazi or not." He suggests that the only way to oppose the slogans and promises of the "National Revolution" is to come out with a complete program, drafted in simple terms, and more popular than the Atlantic Charter, indicating the kind of world toward which we are moving. Such a program, if it is to be effective, must contain definite promises about collective security and, beyond that, it must indicate the instrumentalities: a world court and world police force that will make security against aggression effective.

The other field in which assurances are needed is democracy. Wherever the United Nations troops move there is a very definite fear that military and aristocratic leaders will be supported by the Allies against the people. There are rumors that the Allies are seeking a "conservative" Europe, and assurances to the contrary are urgently needed. Finally, the people are terribly anxious about the future economic organization of their countries. They are afraid that cartels and monopolistic trusts will ruthlessly exploit them. We are told that the slogans "Economic Democracy" and "Economic Security" are the msot popular on the Continent.

There are more than three hundred million people behind the enemy

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lines. Their revolt can be of an inestimable value to the military operations of the United Nations. Their revolt will be the stronger if they know that, not only the end of slavery is at stake, but that a free and happy life lies ahead. It is imperative to speak once more the language of the Four Freedoms and of the Atlantic Charter and, above all, it is necessary to act in their spirit.

Crucifixion of a People

AS WE go to press, there is a murmur in the air of an impending act that may prove to be the climax in that stark tragedy played across the Continent of Europe for ten bitter years. From London and Washington, and now from Quebec, come rumors that the door to their only possible haven—now and in the future—will be slammed shut in the faces of the Jews of Europe. The ominous grapevine, which correspondents call "reliable sources," whispers that the British Foreign Office has finally won President Roosevelt's approval to a unilateral denunciation of the solemn pledges and treaties that established Palestine as a National Homeland for the Jews at the end of the last war. More specifically, Congressman Emanuel Celler has just released a vigorous warning that "a joint statement will be issued by the British Foreign Office and the State Department . . . which will . . . smash the hopes of those who dared look toward Palestine as the one realistic approach to the solution of the homelessness of a driven people."

It seems incredible that among the collaborators in this act of the Jewish tragedy should be Winston Churchill and those members of his Cabinet who have so often and so eloquently protested in Parliament against the MacDonald White Paper, which Mr. Churchill described as "an act of repudiation" and "a breach of faith." For it is the phrase, "MacDonald White Paper"—that measure of official indifference and inhumanity limiting the number of Jews to be admitted to Palestine—which is most often heard in the hints and whispers and rumors concerning the projected action. The MacDonald White Paper of 1939 was one of the last acts of appeasement forced by Chamberlain's Government on a rebellious Parliament. It was an executive order, not only condemned by Mr. Churchill, Lord Wedgewood, L. S. Amery, Herbert Morrison, Philip Noel Baker, and other members of the Conservative party and of the Labor and Liberal Opposition, but actually declared illegal by the Permanent Mandates Commission of the League of Nations. Now, according to "reliable sources," it is this document that is to be used as authority for denying to the stricken Jews of Europe the possibility and hope of escape to Palestine. It is to be the reason for rejecting the extraordinary offer of Palestinian Jewry to welcome and support six hundred thousand Jewish refugees from Axis controlled countries. It is to be the excuse for the shameful inactivity of the Inter-Governmental Committee on Refugees when so much cries out to be done, when thousands of dead are the result of inaction.

However much or little truth there may be in these rumors, the fact remains that neither the United Nations nor Britain and America—who control the initiative of the United Nations—have taken any concrete steps

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to save the Jews of Europe. Every day of this inactivity sees freight trains bearing doomed men, women, and children from the Western countries to Poland; sees other men, women, and children falling in their tracks from starvation in Rumania, Bulgaria, and Hungary; every day sees suffocation chambers eject hundreds of inert bodies, sees trench-graves endlessly digged and filled. The shame and tragedy of this situation lies not so much in the vast numbers of helpless victims—at a time when young and strong men fall on the battlefield we grow callous to death—but in the fact that not even an attempt is made to save these tortured human beings. Not even a gesture, beyond pious ejaculations of horror and sympathy, lightens the last moments of this abandoned people. It is this inaction, this indifference, that constitutes the spiritual as well as the physical crucifixion of the Jews.

Yet there are ways and means of taking immediate and effective action. Jewish and other organizations have suggested many practical measures. At the recent conference held by the Emergency Committee to Save the Jews of Europe, a group of experts formulated a plan that, utilizing available facilities, promises to withdraw in four months 750,000 Jews from the actual and potential death pits of Europe. This plan has been presented to the United States Government in a memorandum to Secretary of State Hull. It postulates that a great proportion of the four million surviving Jews of Europe can be saved prior to cessation of hostilities without hindering the successful prosecution of the war; it calls for the immediate creation of a separate and official Agency dedicated to the specific purpose of working on this problem through available international channels; and it indicates the means of effecting the evacuation and finding asylum for the Jews of Axis occupied and satellite countries.

But Palestine, and the freedom of immigration to Palestine, are the very essence of this plan. Only Palestine is so situated that the bulk of these refugees may be quickly transported there; only in Palestine is there a great body of the population willing and ready to support and absorb the Jews; only in Palestine will the Jews find a permanent haven of refuge where they belong "of right and not on sufferance," a right legally established when the United States and fifty-two other nations ratified the Balfour Declaration, when the United States and Great Britain signed the Convention of 1924.

This right and the corollary obligations of Great Britain as the Mandatory Power were cited by Mr. Churchill in his opposition to the MacDonald White Paper. His eloquent and noble words are just as valid now as they were when he uttered them in Parliament:

> I feel bound to vote against the proposals of His Majesty's Government. As one intimately and responsibly concerned in the earlier stages of our Palestine policy, I could not stand by and see solemn engagements into which Britain has entered before the world set aside for reasons of administrative convenience or—and it will be a vain hope—for the sake of a quiet life. I should feel personally embarrassed in the most acute manner if I lent myself, by silence or inaction, to what I must regard as an act of repudiation. . . . I select the one point upon which there is plainly a breach and repudiation of the Balfour Declaration—the provision that Jewish immigration can be stopped in five years' time by an Arab majority. . . . What is that but the destruction of the Balfour Declaration? What is that but a breach of faith? What is it but a one-sided denunciation—what is called in the

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jargon of the present time, a unilateral denunciation of an engagement? **Is our condition so parlous and our state so poor that we must, in our weakness, make this sacrifice of our declared purpose?**

The people of the world recognize that now, less than ever, is the condition of the British Empire so parlous and her state so poor that she must take cognizance of the bogey of Arab resentment against an act of justice and humanity. They will consider any action that on such grounds bars the way to saving millions of Jews from impending doom as the forerunner of those political machinations and those violations of international treaties, moral laws, and human decency, which may begin with the destruction of the Jewish people but must end with the destruction of mankind.

The Congressional Tours

DURING the hot summer months of July and August, about twenty Senators and Representatives have been touring the country and speaking on the subject of America's place in the post-war world, directing their remarks to the necessity of immediate Congressional indication in support of international co-operation. Despite the difficulty of holding summer meetings, there has been so much public interest that all the Congressmen participating report good audiences and very favorable public reaction. In addition to the ten teams already under way, at least ten more are planned for the fall. The tours have been arranged by the United Nations Association in co-operation with other organizations.

These tours are symbolical of the changed attitude of the American people and their legislators toward the role of the United States in the coming peace. The nonpartisan character of the movement is indicated by the fact that each team contains one Democrat and one Republican, and that the support of the local political leaders in both parties is solicited for the meetings. Observers have been quick to point out the difference between the United States Senate of 1919, which forced the United States on the path of isolation, and the Senate today, which may very soon pass a resolution pledging its support to the co-operation of the United States with other nations in the post-war world. Of those already introduced, the one presented by Senators Ball, Burton, Hatch, and Hill seems to have captured the imagination and approval of the country.

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THE ELEVENTH HOUR FOR THE UNITED NATIONS

by

LOUIS DOLIVET

NO conference of the Allied leaders has been more urgently needed than this last one between President Roosevelt and Prime Minister Churchill. Of course, this conference would have much greater importance if the other United Nations, particularly Russia and China, had also participated. But even limited to the United States and England, it may be of tremendous importance as the preparatory step toward the integration of the United Nations into a unified world organization.

Military events have taken a definite turn for the better, and the United Nations leaders will be able to plan new blows against a weakened, but still very dangerous enemy. They will also have to take into consideration the political situation, which requires a clear reconsideration of the whole Allied relationship. The very fact that the military situation is favorable to the United Nations offers the necessary conditions of serenity for an objective examination of all factors involved.

Sad and disappointing as it is, we must admit that for the first time in their history the United Nations are facing some serious problems which threaten to grow into a major political crisis at the end of the war, or even before that. Fortunately, the Axis powers cannot find too much comfort in this situation because each of the United Nations is determined to fight until total victory is achieved. But this does not make the problems less serious, and the sooner the Governments and the peoples of the United Nations make a serious effort to overcome the difficulties completely, the better it will be for all concerned.

The major critical aspects of the present situation, as this writer sees them, are as follows:

1. The relationships among the United States, Russia, Great Britain, and China, in the conduct of the war.
2. The relationships of the Big Four with the lesser powers of the United Nations.
3. The administration of the occupied and freed territories.
4. The prospects of a future international organization.

All four problems are interrelated, and there is little hope that one might be solved satisfactorily without solving the others. They all go back to the fundamental conditions that led to the constitution of the United Nations and to that wholly new political concept of a democratic international policy that has come out of this war.

Two years ago, when the military situation of the Allies looked very dark, the President of the United States and the Prime Minister of Great Britain, realizing that a new international philosophy of democracy was needed, proclaimed a set of far-reaching political and economic democratic principles known as the Atlantic Charter. That document has already served

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as a rallying point for the immense majority of the inhabitants of the earth, and has greatly improved the political and moral situation of the Allies. The Atlantic Charter has definitely established the superiority of the Allied war aims over Axis propaganda, and has given hope that a new and better humanity will emerge from this war in the event of a democratic victory. That is why, not only thirty-two Governments, but the whole Underground movement, and freedom-loving people all over the world as well, have adopted the Charter as their own.

In proclaiming the Charter, the President and the Prime Minister have taken engagements of a binding nature on behalf of their countries. The Charter was taken by the rest of the world as a solemn obligation to inaugurate new ethics in international relations, and the creation of the United Nations a few months later was considered the first step toward a new world organization. Despite the fact that the Charter has not yet been ratified, any country that would renounce it would be considered by the rest of humanity as committing a serious breach of faith.

From the beginning, it was evident to all that the four major powers would have a prominent place in that world organization and that common responsibilities, shared alike by each of them, would constantly increase their solidarity and co-operation. But the world organization remained in its first stages. It did not grow into an effective machinery or political body. It is true that many boards and agencies were created, but they were of a technical nature only, and were mostly under American and British leadership. There was no political organization within the framework of which the Four Powers could work and act together, learn to know their respective methods and interests, and lay the foundations for lasting co-operation in the future.

Instead of one united group of four powers, there were three entities, namely, (1) United States–Great Britain, (2) Russia, and (3) China. For of the four powers, the United States and Great Britain have achieved the best degree of co-operation, and they have been able to get the greatest mutual benefits from an almost total co-ordination of their resources. Russia, not being a part of that complete co-ordination —and this may be her fault as well as that of the others—was forced to ask for as much material help as possible for her gigantic effort against the bulk of the Nazi armies, and she moved more and more toward the role of independent action. As for China, her leaders were among the most constant advocates of an immediate organization of the United Nations. But she has yet to have a chance to become a full partner of the other three, and this may account for many of her serious internal problems. This also accounts for the dangers which exist in the present Far-Eastern situation.

The other members of the United Nations, too, have felt the consequences of this situation. Each one has begun (as in the "good old days," which have led to the present bad days) to look out for itself, to try to hold tenaciously what it has or had, or hopes to have in the future. Slowly the boundary problems, which for a while had lost their importance, came back into the forefront of diplomatic consideration. What is even more serious, many of the old discredited factors, such as the Hapsburgs, began to reappear, trying to fish in the troubled waters of the Allies. Those waters also attracted many of the immoral elements, responsible for the overthrow of democracy and the legal constitutions of their own countries, that have been collaborating in the most shameless manner with the Fascists. They began to prepare for their "comeback" into the ranks of the victorious Allied powers. No one can doubt that the resisting elements, fighting with superhuman courage against the Gestapo and their own puppet hangmen, were deeply shocked by the prospect of again facing the hated traitors in the very ranks of the United Nations.

In this connection it must always be remembered that the fight between the collaborationists and the anti-collaborationists cannot be compared to a normal political fight in a free country between conservatives and progressives. In a democratic regime the victorious party does not destroy its opponents by torture, prison, and assisinations; it does not create a boundary of unbreachable hatred between political opponents. But the collaborationists have

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created such a boundary by their crimes against their own countrymen; they have helped the enemy to destroy almost the very existence of their own nations; and they will never be forgiven.

Another consequence of the postponement in the creation of the United Nations is that the philosophy of political democracy and world co-operation ceased to be considered the essential ideological foundation of the United Nations. Old anti-Russian, anti-labor, or anti-Semitic slogans began to reappear, to be whispered in diplomatic *couloirs,* and they are responsible, at least in part, for the tension which existed for a long time between Russia and Poland, and which ended in a breach of diplomatic relations. The existence of a United Nations Council could have avoided such a situation, because both Poland and Russia would have hesitated to assume the responsibility and take the initiative in any move that would break up the new inter-Allied solidarity.

The most eloquent demonstration of the effect of delay in the organization of the United Nations came with the creation of the Free German Committee in Moscow. No one can reproach the Russians for permitting or encouraging the functioning of that committee. In the absence of a United Nations policy as to what to do with Germany in the future, Russia felt justified in helping to launch a brilliantly drafted manifesto to the German people, destined to weaken the Hitler regime from the inside. Even for the future relations of Russia with Germany, it was important to the former to encourage friendly political elements to organize their forces on her soil. But if the United Nations had acted together, it would have been extremely difficult for Russia to take the initiative of a separate policy toward Germany, and from the past record of Soviet Russia in the League of Nations one can safely assume that it never would have happened.

II

THE absence of a United Nations policy also complicates, to a considerable degree, the military administration of conquered enemy territories, or of friendly freed territories. However often the slogan, "Away with politics," might be proclaimed, the fact remains that people who have lived—in some cases for twenty years; in other cases for three or more years—under the most cruel dictatorship have a burning desire to demonstrate to themselves and to the world their political aspirations, and to prove that they have not been in agreement with their tyrannical governments. This has been amply demonstrated in the case of North Africa, where the abolition of Vichy legislation and the return to the principles of the Republic of France have been greeted with the greatest enthusiasm. This has been demonstrated in Sicily, where tens of thousands of the people have greeted the Allied troops with tears of joy in their eyes. This is being demonstrated every day in the streets of Milan and Turin.

The United Nations, therefore, need a policy toward those populations, and they need a common administration composed not only of Anglo-Americans but also of representatives of other Allied Powers. Having a great number of Allied Nations in the military administration of those territories would be extremely encouraging to the democratic revolutionary forces of the whole of Europe. *The most unhappy reputation that could be attached to the Allied military administration would be that it might try to break up the democratic revolutions in Europe.*

This sense of insecurity also greatly endangers the chances for the creation of an international organization after this war, because the individual policies of the major powers of the United Nations necessarily create the sentiment that, after all, it is utopian to hope that such an organization could be achieved.

It is most disquieting, in this order of ideas, to observe how much the hopes of a world organization, which seemed almost a certainty only a year ago, have disappeared as a result of this return to the practice of individual policies. It is true that in the field of food an important step toward co-operation of the United Nations and their friends has been taken, but it is high time that such action be extended to other fields to prepare, through a series of agencies, the foundations of a permanent world organization.

All these difficulties, important as they

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are, nevertheless do not constitute an insurmountable obstacle to a complete change for the better in relations among the United Nations. The war still requires unlimited sacrifices from all the United Nations and the utmost solidarity among them is needed to win a victory over the most fanatical enemies freedom has ever encountered. The major powers can still get together to decide on a common strategy. The conduct of the war requires the extension of that co-ordination which, happily, already exists between the United States and Great Britain, to Russia and China. If it is true that Russia, because of the fact that she is not at war with Japan, does not consider it possible to sit in a council of war against that country, then the conduct of the war must be entrusted to two distinct units: (1) The United States of America, Russia, and Great Britain; (2) the United States, Great Britain, and China—both functioning in full co-operation with the other United Nations.

As far as the political conduct of the war is concerned, the United Nations must go back to the principles which led to their creation. The reaffirmation of those principles as the basic policy of the United Nations may lose some doubtful supporters for our cause, but it will win back at one stroke all the freedom-loving forces of the world—and they are still the overwhelming majority. From this point of view, the statement of the President on the occasion of the second anniversary of the Atlantic Charter has been the most encouraging document recently published, because it again expresses the fundamental aspirations of humanity and indicates that "our enemies are not only Germany, Italy, and Japan: they are all the forces of oppression, intolerance, insecurity, and injustice which have impeded the forward march of civilization." Never have truer words been spoken, but they need to be implemented by the day-to-day policy of the United Nations. They need to be transformed into acts.

The first and most urgent act is the creation of a supreme council of the United Nations in which major and minor powers would participate in the shaping of a common policy. The sense of participation is most strongly felt in international relations, and the very existence of a supreme council would immediately change the whole atmosphere of the existing uneasiness into one of confidence. Such a council would have to take up many of the pending problems of urgent interest to all the United Nations.

First among them is the recognition of the French Committee of National Liberation. It should have been recognized from the beginning by a solemn decision of all the United Nations acting together, instead getting recognition by a few countries acting separately. Recognition will put an end to the paradoxical situation that exists at present, where the great Democracies have not yet recognized the Committee, while fascist Franco has hurriedly sent a minister to Algiers.

It is possible that between the time these lines are written and the time they are published, full recognition will have been granted at the Quebec Conference to the French National Committee of Liberation. Thus France will again become a full-fledged partner in the United Nations and will be able to exercise a democratic influence on her own future and on the future of Europe. But though this belated action will not repair the harm that has been done, it should at least serve to prevent similar baneful situations in the future.

One other problem which the United Nations must consider together is from whom they will accept surrender. It is logical that surrender could be accepted from anyone—even from Hitler himself, as Mr. Eden stated. But accepting surrender is one thing, and permitting the hated regimes or their henchmen to continue in power is another. The United Nations need to have a clear-cut political and economic program for the transition period if they do not want to be paralyzed by the weakness and hesitation which was so destructive throughout the history of the League of Nations. Unless they learn from the weaknesses of Geneva and are firmly resolved to avoid the mistakes of the past, they will be unable to implement the moral and political principles for which this war is being fought. It is not too late for the creation of a democratic world organization —but it is the eleventh hour.

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CO-OPERATIVES

Key to the Restoration of a Free Europe?

BY DOROTHY KENYON

POST-WAR planning begins with food and, unless we plan very carefully, may get no further. For our victorious armies will save the peoples of the devastated areas from imminent starvation and anarchy, but they cannot set them permanently on their feet; not even the Red Cross, tremendous as are its facilities and achievements, can accomplish that task. Soup kitchens and bread lines, while necessary evils in some of the worst afflicted areas, are no permanent answer to the problem. Europe rising from its tragic ruins wants no charity, merely a helping hand and the means whereby to restore itself to life and health. The means of giving that helping hand, without arousing resentment or sowing political distrust, are perhaps among the most difficult and delicate of any of the immediate mechanisms we must create.

The immediate problem, of course, is not limited to food as such. There are other basic necessities of life, such as seed, farm animals, farm implements, building materials, fuel, clothing, and drugs. All these things Europe lacks in varying degrees and all of them she must have in order to get back on her physical feet. Without some measures of physical recovery, spiritual recovery is impossible. So unless the planners begin with these elementary things upon which human existence depends, there may not be any human beings left in Europe to whom post-war planning will matter.

Forty-four governments met last spring and wrestled with this problem. A proposal that the distribution of food be handled by the Big Four, namely England, Russia, China, and the United States, met with immediate opposition from some of the other countries, lesser in size but (as in the case of the Netherlands) with perhaps even more at stake. Objection was made to the concentration of so much power in the hands of a few. Objection was also made to the idea that each government should care for its own.

If we in the countries outside the shadow, who must of necessity extend the helping hand, cannot agree among ourselves as to how the thing shall be handled, what can we say of the reaction of the peoples deep in the shadows whom we seek to help? How are we going to get at them, we peoples and nations on the outside looking in? With whom shall we make contact? Whom shall we call upon to get things moving? How will they react to us, particularly if we move in like an army of occupation, a united front of all the United Nations, or even the same front boiled down to the Big Four? Would it be better for the governments-in-exile to undertake the task, each for its own devastated peoples? Since some of the governments-in-exile are none too sure of their reception by their own peoples back home, the possible political complications and motivations of such a plan are only too obvious. In fact, every proposal advanced so far drags its own special political complications and motivations in its train. What appears to be needed is some "middle way" whereby this simple job of

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food distribution may be kept out of politics, and the efforts of the devastated peoples themselves enlisted as soon as possible in their own behalf. The problem is how to get down to the grass roots of Europe with the least delay, how to convert this vital job of food distribution into a truly self-help project.

The thing might be done if it could be kept in private hands. But it is obviously too vast to be entrusted wholly to private groups. The money needed is too astronomical in amount, the supplies too varied and too widely scattered over the earth's surface, the problem of ships and transport of all sorts too complex for any but governments to be able to cope with. Governments must of necessity have a hand in it even if themselves politically suspect. There is no getting away from that fact. But what governments need is a tool to take over the actual task of distribution for them, a tool that would be non-political, non-sectarian, and non-self-seeking, and that would have grass roots connections all over Europe; a tool, in short, that could start the wheels of this great self-help project rolling without suspicion and without delay—aided, of course, by the stock piles, the money, the transportation facilities, etc., that in this particular emergency only governments are big enough to supply. Such a tool to be effective must be known and trusted by the devastated peoples of Europe themselves. It must have friends among them to whom it can go and say, We have come here just to help you get on your feet. We want only to help you help yourselves.

I believe there is such a tool and that it lies ready to our hand. Known the world over, covering much of it with its network of local distributive centers, wholesales, and factories, the whole gigantic mechanism owned by its customers, its production geared for their use, the quality of its merchandise clearly marked so that all know what they are getting, no profit for anyone other than a fair return for services rendered, and a structure embodying the simple democratic principle of *one-man, one-vote*—this tool that I have in mind has long been known as consumer co-operation.

Invented in the eighteenth century by the highly inventive Scots, it was taken over, almost one hundred years ago, by the English—who know a good thing when they see it. Since then, quietly, unsensationally, it has slowly but surely covered the earth. Its rise in this country has been too unspectacular (except for the occasional failures) to attract any great attention. But the growth has been steady, and in recent years almost phenomenal.

In Europe it is an old story. Spreading from England, where it quickly took deep and tenacious root, it has spread over the years through all the countries. Denmark is perhaps the most completely co-operatized of all of them. But Sweden in recent years has run her a close race. Even Germany and Italy once had a large and flourishing co-operative movement. Before Hitler's day, over one-fourth of the entire population of Europe belonged to co-operatives. But being a democratic device of, by, and for the people, it was naturally displeasing to both Mussolini and Hitler, and they promptly took steps to confiscate its property and to outlaw the societies. The memory of it remains, however, even among the Germans and Italians, although most of the active co-operators among them are by this time either refugees, or in concentration camps, or dead. Everywhere else in Europe the movement flourished and grew mightily until the last lamp of Europe went out.

II

IT is hard for us in this country to realize how closely knit into the lives of the people the co-operatives of Europe are. Take, for illustration, the five countries which form Hitler's Western Wall, any one of which may be the scene of our next great Second Front. Norway, Denmark, Holland, Belgium, and France, each of them, although in varying degree, are highly developed co-operative communities.

Norway boasts one large consumer wholesale and six agricultural wholesales. These wholesales supply 3,430 co-operative warehouses, grocery stores, bakeries, and slaughterhouses scattered up and down the entire length and breadth of that narrow land. The stores affiliated with the wholesales serve 196,000 families and 60,-

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000 farms. Four hundred additional independent stores located in remote mountain fastnesses (for which exact figures are not available) serve a substantial additional number of families. Allowing four persons to a family and four to a farm, this means that considerably more than 784,000 people out of a total population of 2,900,000, or almost one-third of the nation, buy most of the necessities of life in their own co-operative stores, and that perhaps another 240,000 of them (although there may be some overlapping) buy their farm supplies and food the same way. The principal things they buy are food, clothing, shoes, and household utensils, many of which they used to produce or process before the war in their own factories. The farmers buy feed, seeds, fertilizer, cement, and implements, as well as food stuffs. Ninety per cent of these stores and warehouses are located in country districts with only one store to a town or village. It is only in the larger cities that branch stores are to be found. In Oslo, for instance, there are forty-six branch stores within the city limits. But this is exceptional. Most of them are single units supplying a fairly wide area. Here is a network of retail outlets, patronized by a third to a half of the total population, bound together by their wholesale organizations and by the sense of communal ownership and loyalty to the co-operative way of doing business, ready and willing to leap into life at the touch of a friendly hand.

Denmark is even more highly developed. While we think of it as primarily a country of agricultural co-operatives, banded together to sell rather than to buy farm products, it is nevertheless almost as well developed on the consumer side. With a population only slightly greater than that of Norway (3,500,000), it possesses four consumer wholesales and five farm wholesales with 5,148 co-operative warehouses, grocery stores, and bakeries strewn thickly over the country and serving 550,000 families and 100,000 farms. This means that about 2,200,000 persons, or over 60 per cent of the total population of the country, buy most of the necessities of life in their own co-operative stores, and that perhaps another 400,000 of them buy their farm supplies and food the same way. The Danes buy much the same things at their stores as their Norwegian brothers do. There are even more factories than in Norway and they manufacture a much greater volume of goods. A co-operative hospital is one of the more recent developments. Copenhagen alone boasts 150 co-operative stores. Of Denmark indeed it may be said that co-operation is the Dane's way of life. The map shows how widely and evenly the co-operatives have spread their network over the entire land. No other country can show anything quite like it.

Following down the invasion coast we next reach Holland, a smaller and much more densely populated and infinitely richer country than either Norway or Denmark, and one that is not so commonly regarded as co-operative. Yet even in Holland, with all its wealth, co-operation, which is a poor man's device to stretch his pocketbook further, has taken surprisingly firm hold. Its one consumer wholesale and three farmer wholesales supply 2,300 co-operative warehouses, grocery stores, bakeries, and slaughterhouses, which in turn serve 260,000 families and 112,000 farms. While this means that approximately only 1,400,000 persons out of a total population of 9,000,000 trade at the co-operative stores (or less than one-eighth of the total), and only 448,000 persons buy farm supplies and food the same way, yet the number of farmers is greater than in either Norway or Denmark, and so also is the number of factories. Holland also goes in rather extensively for medical supplies and medical and dental services.

Belgium, another small and densely populated country, shows a much greater co-operative development than Holland. With two consumer and one farmer wholesale, it possesses 2,450 warehouses, grocery stores, and bakeries, and about 375 additional meeting halls and restaurants. Five hundred thousand families and 115,000 farms are thus served. This means that 2,000,000 people out of a total population of 8,000,000 trade at the co-operative stores, and another 460,000 buy their farm supplies and food through co-operatives. Liege, one of the principal industrial areas, possesses 350 such stores. Belgian co-operators, like the Hollanders, do an extensive business in medical supplies.

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The last of the West Wall captive states is France. While co-operation came rather late to France (as it did to Holland), it took hold vigorously after the first World War, particularly in the industrial areas of the north. One consumer and many farmer wholesales divided their affliated stores into regional groups. There are 5,000 such grocery stores, 20 shoe stores, and a large number of restaurants besides. These stores serve at least 1,000,000 families or 4,000,000 people in all, which is one-tenth of the total population. France also boasts many co-operative factories of considerable diversity and volume. The Vichy Government has changed the setup considerably, forcing the wholesale and retail societies to merge, and combining the various farm co-operatives into three primary groups. Some of the old leadership has been retained, however, and contact can easily be re-established after the war. While France is the least developed co-operatively of the five countries under discussion, it is only because co-operation came to her later than to the others. Once arrived, it took firm hold of the French imagination and made great strides in a short space of time. While a young plant still, it is an uncommonly healthy and hardy growth with an almost unlimited capacity for development.

III

HERE then are our grass roots. One-tenth of the total population of France, one-eighth of the population of Holland, more than a quarter of the people of Belgium, one-third of Norway, and two-thirds of Denmark own these co-operative stores and their affiliated wholesales. Many thousands more buy at the stores without being members of them. Moreover, these stores and wholesales are not separated one from another by national boundaries. Their wholesales trade with one another across national boundary lines; they trade with other wholesales in other countries, notably in England (before the war), and to a smaller extent in the United States. They are banded together into wholesales of wholesales, international federations of wholesales, and the like. Furthermore the commodities in which they deal and are accustomed to handle are precisely those commodities, namely food and farm supplies, which Europe must have at once if it is not to perish.

Of the individuals in these countries with whom contacts might be made: we know that the various consumer wholesales in Denmark had 4,000 employees in 1939; France, 1,200; Norway, 1,000; Holland, 800; and Belgium, 500. We also know that there were 17,200 members of boards of directors of retail shops in Denmark, 16,000 in France, 13,500 in Norway, 9,000 in Holland, and 8,000 in Belgium; we also know that there were 20,400 employees of these retail shops in Denmark, 20,000 in France, 19,300 in Norway, 9,000 in Holland, and 10,000 in Belgium. These figures cover only the people in the consumer co-operative field. Figures are not available for the agricultural co-operatives, but their numbers are presumably even larger. All these people are known; they have names and addresses; back in 1939, they could have been reached immediately.

What has happened to all these people and all these stores during these years of darkness we know only by guesswork or by what we can piece together from what the refugees say and from snatches of underground tales. The factories and stores themselves have probably been pretty thoroughly looted and some of them may even have been destroyed. The chances are, however, that most of the stores have never closed but, on some basis or other, frequently under nazi dominance, are still struggling to carry on. This is probably truer of the farm groups than of city dwellers, since there has been less disorganization among farm peoples than elsewhere.

Have we got the organization outside of Fortress Europe which can quicken these grass roots into life? The answer is an emphatic YES. For the network of communicating co-operative wholesales outside of Europe, with which it had been accustomed to deal in the past, is bigger and stronger than ever, and is capable of entering into each one of those countries and of picking up the lost threads as soon as the doors are opened. At the center of the web and holding all the strands together is the International Co-operative Alliance which before the war had a membership of two thousand co-operative societies in forty

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countries, with one hundred million members and a combined business of fifteen billion dollars a year. Its affiliates, the two great wholesales of England and Scotland, and their local societies, now serve nine million families, or over one-half of the people of those two countries alone.

The co-operative wholesale societies of Norway, Denmark, Holland, Belgium, and France all had affiliations with these groups before the war. There are also by this time important groups in Africa, Asia, and even in the islands of the Far East. The combined resources of all these groups are enormous, their ties of trade and friendship with almost every village and hamlet of Europe are unlike that of any other organization on earth.

The Committee on International Co-operative Reconstruction, set up by the Co-operative League of the U. S. A., put the matter clearly and briefly in transmitting its offer of help to Governor Lehman, Director of the Office of Foreign Relief and Rehabilitation Operations:

> In the countries invaded and oppressed by the Axis powers, the co-operative movement is ready and waiting to expand into action as soon as Axis oppression is removed. These societies represented before the war a majority of the farmers and wage-earners of the European countries.
>
> This Committee is hopeful that relief and reconstruction measures put into operation after the war will not be temporary and makeshift devices as heretofore. Post-war relief, we feel, should be supplied by methods which continue later in business setups that will remain as parts of the permanent economic structure. Co-operatives offer such a mechanism. Moreover, they offer also, to a war-weary people sunk in the depths of profound despair and almost utter hopelessness, a democratic way of self-help which leads to ownership and the consequent upbuilding of morale. The co-operative movement is not merely a productive and distributive movement; it is a builder of men and morale as well.

Here then would appear to be the tool for which we are looking, a tool ready to our hand, with vital connections everywhere, non-political, non-sectarian, and with a tremendous willingness to serve. If not utilized by the United Nations, it will go ahead anyhow to the best of its ability to assist its suffering fellow co-operators in the occupied lands. Plans are now on foot, initiated by the International Co-operative Alliance, to raise a fund in Great Britain, Canada, and the United States for co-operative relief and reconstruction. But the assistance that can be given this way by private funds alone is a mere drop compared with the need, and also with what might be done by full utilization of the co-operative mechanism and contacts.

I propose, therefore, that the United Nations appoint the co-operatives as their agent for the post-war distribution of food and farm supplies in the devastated countries of Europe; that they utilize the international co-operative wholesale machinery now existing, or that can be created for the purpose, together with their highly trained and skilled personnel; that such co-operatives be asked to supply their own products so far as they are available, and for the balance to make use of products from the United Nations' own stockpiles, aided by United Nations' financing and shipping facilities; and that it be the task of these co-operatives to seek out all their former co-operative customers and friends, and to help them get their distributive machinery back on its feet, and in areas where that is not possible, to set up new distributive machinery. If it does not seem feasible for any reason to turn over the whole of this task to the co-operatives, at least a part of it (to the extent of United States' participation in the effort, or to the extent of the five European countries described herein at the very least) should be given them.

There is precedent for this. At the end of the last World War both France and Italy used co-operatives for food distribution in their devastated districts, and Sweden uses them now for the importation of most of her food. The United Nations do not need to be told how good the co-operative technique is, a resolution recommending its further use and extension throughout Europe having been one of the high-lights of the recent Food Conference. It should be easy, therefore, for the United Nations to translate these words of theirs into deeds and to give the co-operatives the job.

The co-operatives stand ready to serve. Let them be called.

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The Economic Reserve System

by RALPH J. SCANLAN

AFTER military victory in this war is finally achieved, our country and the entire world must undergo a measure of economic reconstruction adequate both to win the peace and to head off World War III. Otherwise, our complex, world-integrated exchange economy will again develop tensions and relapses which will permit a renascent economic nazism to start another career of short-sighted political and military opportunism.

Our national and world problems are not solely economic: but until we solve our economic problems, most of our other problems remain insoluble. And when we have solved our major national and world economic problems, our other problems may be much less difficult to resolve. We know this, and yet we find it difficult to agree specifically on how much and what sort of economic reconstruction will constitute a sufficient measure, adequate to our own needs and the needs of other nations of the world.

Fortunately, we are already hard at work on these problems. Various organizations within our country are developing national post-war economic programs; and promising beginnings on international economic problems have been made at the United Nations Food Conference at Hot Springs, Virginia, as well as in the partially identical American and British currency stabilization plans announced earlier in the spring. But much work remains to be done. The official British statement at the Food Conference declared:

> Food and agricultural policy are therefore closely inter-related with international economic policy—that is, with monetary arrangements, with commercial policy and with the future of international investment. All of these things are parts of a single whole and we cannot tackle one of them satisfactorily without paying some attention to the rest.
>
> We believe that the study of food and agricultural problems at this conference must include reference to these wider economic problems, and that if the conference reaches sound conclusions on the specific questions raised in its agenda, it will have simplified and provided a valuable introduction to the consideration of those economic problems to which the United Nations will have to devote their urgent attention in the near future.

We are looking for a plan of action for national and international economic reconstruction which is not incompatible with our own American political and social background and our urge for personal freedom and individual liberty yet which is wholly acceptable to our United Nations allies, particularly Soviet Russia. Also, our plan of post-war economic action must allow us to live unmolested in the same world with the Axis nations, who may again seek to practice some of their nazi economics. Nor will costly economic blockades—an economic war to continue after the military war—solve our national and world economic problems. We need something more than we had in the past. The question is—what?

Perhaps an Economic Reserve System, developed and expanded from the official British Government proposal at the recent Food Conference, and based in part on the experience we have had with our American Ever-Normal Granary, is the next step we should take along the path we have been

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following toward economic maturity. The British proposal, for future action by the projected permanent international organization to grow out of the interim commission, looks forward to a post-war world in which there will be "enough of the right kind of food for everyone at all times." It recommends a post-war international food bank holding buffer stocks of storable foodstuffs, to balance seasonal variations of harvests and market prices in the long-range interests of both producers and consumers —an extension of the Ever-Normal Granary authorized by Congress for our own country a few years ago.

The Economic Reserve System as here presented contemplates a comparable series of national and international reserves of a variety of major basic commodities and raw materials as an important factor in stimulating, stabilizing, and harmonizing our relatively free economic order in the coming post-war world. At the same time, it can be useful to a relatively regimented economy, such as that of Soviet Russia.

The Economic Reserve System builds on the experience we have had with the balancing and stabilizing influences of the Gold Reserve System and the mint price for gold, and the Federal Reserve System and the "mint" price for bank credit. Similarly, when sufficient reserves are accumulated, the major basic commodities covered by the Economic Reserve System will be bought and sold freely in any quantities at "mint" prices maintained for long periods. Powerful and beneficial economic consequences will be reflected through the entire national and world economic orders by this added function; and the coming post-war period will be a good time for us to inaugurate it. Incidentally, the American and British currency stabilization plans both have many elements of our national Federal Reserve System in them, to which they propose to give world-wide application.

A National Economic Reserve System for the United States may contribute much toward solving many of our most vexing internal economic problems. An International Economic Reserve System, established in co-operation with other nations, will enable us to work together in harmony to solve some of our mutual external, or world, economic problems, despite relative differences of freedom and regimentation in our respective internal economic orders. Other nations can have such systems in their internal economies, or not, as they please; but the International Economic Reserve System can protect all of us—and particularly it can protect our good neighbors, the smaller raw-material-producing nations —from any future machinations of possible renascent economic nazism. In addition, inducements will exist for the present Axis nations to serve their own best self-interest by abandoning nazi economics and entering the International Economic Reserve System with honest intentions and with few hopes for success by disruptive activities.

II

ANTHROPOLOGISTS tell us that the primitive blackfellow of Australia typically existed in an economy of rapidly alternating feast and famine. A band of natives would arrive famished and thirsty at a water hole in the desert, kill all the animals and birds abounding there, then gorge to repletion and sleep in a stupor, while the uneaten meat rotted. After a few days, they were forced to seek another water hole, which they again reached, famished and thirsty, after another grueling march over the desert.

The blackfellow of Australia, in his native habitat, was a marvel for stamina and fortitude in the face of adversity on his terrible desert marches, just as he was a horrible example of reckless waste in the midst of temporary plenty at every well-stocked water hole. The trouble was that his culture and economy did not understand how to preserve food and maintain economic reserves. This seems strangely shortsighted to us—but viewed from a somewhat longer cycle, have we learned to do so very much better ourselves?

Peoples who live in regions having a decided winter season long ago learned the necessity of storing up economic reserves for the winter. The Flathead Indians of the Snake River region of Idaho, for example, learned to dry salmon and store them in skin bags hung up in their wickiups. As a form of social security, in order to insure the community against individual misfortune, their culture customs provided that anyone whose

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supply of winter food ran short could eat at any wickiup still having food. The result among the Flatheads was that everyone was more than half-starved each spring, not because the salmon run was deficient the previous summer, but because no one bothered to put up a great reserve for winter eating. Moreover, everyone ate plentifully so long as the reserves lasted. What would have been the use of storing and skimping for other people's benefit? Here again, the culture and economy of the Flatheads seem to us to be deficient in ways that ought to have been easy enough to correct by a little intelligent social invention—but were not corrected. How about our own?

In a comprehensive study of the food and raw material reserves of the world, made by one of our government agencies at the time of World War I, it was found that our civilized world economy is relatively never much further ahead of its next harvest than were the Australian blackfellows or the Flathead Indians. We do not actually run short between harvests, it is true—not normally, in peacetime, at any rate. But we generally ignore the startling fact of how narrow our safety factor is. Actually our modern civilized world economy, even in peacetime, makes it necessary for us to begin eating the early harvests of each year right away, because the food reserves of the previous year are already exhausted.

At no time of the year, the study made during the last war reveals, does our civilized world ever have more than an eleven months' supply of food on hand—and that only at the time of the peak of the harvest in the Northern Hemisphere. With nonedible raw materials the story is also much the same. Nor did we do anything significant to correct this weakness in economic reserves during the twenty years of the Armistice. As we intensified our war production for World War II, we found that most of the modest surpluses and the excess production capacity of major basic commodities, which plagued our shortsighted economy during ten years of depression, soon became alarming shortages. Our need now for adequate economic reserves has been well-nigh tragic. But like the Australian blackfellows and the Flathead Indians, our culture and economy are not sufficiently organized to stimulate or induce us to provide ourselves with a generous safety factor of an adequate reserve of a wide variety of basic commodities.

On the contrary, instead of our culture and economy stimulating us to build up adequate economic reserves, some of our best executive and managerial brains in industry, during the past few decades, have occupied themselves with effecting petty economies by hand-to-mouth buying and minicule inventories in the utilization of basic raw or semi-manufactured commodities. It is an illuminating experience to stop for a few moments to ponder, objectively, the implications of this type of increased managerial efficiency and financial economy—and to what it leads in times of emergency.

A few highly placed observers in Washington were quoted anonymously in press dispatches, at the time of the Food Conference, as saying that the British Government's international food reserve proposal, to stimulate production and balance seasonal variations of harvests and market prices in the long-run interests of both producers and consumers, was too radical for America. By coincidence, at about the same time, President Conant of Harvard University was advertising in an *Atlantic Monthly* article—"Wanted: American Radicals," to help us solve our national problems without becoming embroiled in civil war at home within ten years after the peace and thus undermining our role in international affairs. President Conant does not see much post-war hope for us at the hands of reactionaries who, by his definition, "would try to return to a condition approximating the pre-war status (or some earlier date)."

The Economic Reserve System cannot claim to be very radical. It fits too squarely for that into the trend of American tradition and experience, as the next step toward economic maturity along the road we have been traveling for many generations. This system can be considered as radical only in that its results may be a radical improvement over what we have too often experienced in the past few decades. Perhaps that will enable it to meet President Conant's specifications.

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III

In a century or more of working experience with a complex exchange economy, we have devised the Gold Reserve System with its mint price for gold (plus a subsidiary Silver Reserve with its mint price for newly mined silver), and the Federal Reserve System with its "mint" price for bank credit, to give us a stabilized medium of exchange and standard of economic values. These economic institutions, like their counterparts in all other nations with modern complex exchange economies, have served us well, despite the doubling, halving, and redoubling of prices we have experienced, all in less than thirty years. But these economic institutions cannot exert a sufficient influence to give the control and regulation to economic production and consumption, to economic values and to commodity prices, which stable economic prosperity with continued high productivity requires. Nor do they give us the stimulus we need to provide ourselves with adequate reserves of major economic commodities.

The Economic Reserve System, however, in addition to providing us with large reserves of major basic commodities freely bought and sold in any quantity at an established "mint" price for each commodity, can exert an additional powerful influence on economic production, on economic values, and on commodity prices throughout all of our economic system. Yet it will leave production and economic life generally at least as free as it was before World War II began. Under this system, producers of each major basic commodity will produce as much as they wish to, and for an assured market at the established "mint" price. Manufacturers and other users of each major basic commodity will have an assured source of supply, in unlimited quantities, at the same established "mint" price. Producers of consumers' goods and of economic services will have the assured market of the purchasing power recurrently flowing to the producers of major basic commodities, who will sell their entire production at the established "mint" prices.

Thus, all along the line, and with a minimum of regulation and control, the Economic Reserve System is a powerful influence making for economic stability and continued high productivity and prosperity. It conforms to the limiting conditions of the law of supply and demand, just as an airplane conforms to the limiting conditions of the law of gravitation. Through it we can have the law of supply and demand working for us instead of against us, as is often the case at present. The law of supply and demand does not preclude the possibility of relatively stable commodity prices in a free market—but it does set limiting conditions to which the prices in a free market must conform. In other words, if a buyer in a free market is willing to buy all of a commodity offered, at a certain price—and likewise holds a large reserve of the same commodity in storage, from which he is willing to sell as much of the commodity as is wanted, at the same price—then this price becomes the free market price for that commodity for all buyers and all sellers. This is exactly what the United States Mint did with gold when we were on the free gold standard. And we could do it again, if we had enough gold to meet all demands.

With the Economic Reserve System we can stabilize commodity prices, equitable to all consumers and producers, without black markets, rationing, or straight-jacket enforcement. Productive operations can be carried on essentially as engineering and cost-accounting problems, instead of being speculative ventures based on "guesstimates," everlastingly plagued by the continual ups and downs of commodity market prices. Private buyers and sellers could trade with one another with complete economic freedom, and store up their own stocks of basic commodities, if they cared to. Or they could buy and sell at government warehouses, paying and receiving the "mint" prices which would prevail throughout the market.

This use of "mint" prices for major basic commodities, as the next step toward a mature economy beyond the Gold Reserve System and the Federal Reserve System, would help greatly to stabilize, harmonize, and balance our entire, relatively free economic order. Moreover, a relatively regimented economy, such as that of Soviet Russia, is just another type of complex exchange economy, with many economic

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problems common to our own—which the Economic Reserve System, on both a national and international basis, can help to solve.

It is evident that our nation, or any nation, would be richer, not poorer, for having great economic reserves—different amounts for different commodities—of a variety of major basic commodities, including metals, textile fibers, rubber, leathers, cereals, and other foodstuffs that can be stored for a few years without excessive cost, basic building materials, fuels, etc. The optimum amount of reserve for each commodity would be an amount sufficient to meet all possible demands, and all contingencies of disaster, and still maintain the fair "mint" price in a free market. As a rough figure, let us say that a five-year supply will cover the optimum reserve for any major basic commodity.

It will take a long purse to build up the economic reserves, both for our own nation, and for the other nations of the world. It is taking a longer purse not to have solved our many problems sooner, and just to win back the freedom to go about solving them in our own way. It will cost a considerable sum to accumulate these economic reserves, provide storage facilities, and take care of them. The investment will be tremendous, yes—but the stability and prosperity the Economic Reserve System can give to our entire economic life will more than offset all of these costs. It also costs us something – a good deal in fact – to keep a huge stock of gold idle in the Gold Reserve System as a contribution to economic stability. And it costs a great deal, particularly in banking profits foregone, to keep a huge reserve of banking credit idle in our Federal Reserve System, in the interests of stability and continued productivity. Like them, the Economic Reserve System will be more than worth its cost.

IV

A DETAILED blueprint for administering and financing the Economic Reserve System could be presented, if space permitted. It is sufficient to suggest that the United States inaugurate a National Economic Reserve System to accumulate and maintain reserves of major basic commodities which we produce almost wholly for our own domestic needs—that is, those which have no sizable export surplus. Then, in co-operation with our good neighbors the world over, we can organize and operate the International Economic Reserve System, which will accumulate and maintain reserves of major basic commodities of world trade. Any other nation which cares to can inaugurate a similar system for commodities which it produces almost wholly for its own domestic needs. Whether it does or not is its own affair, and will not affect its participation in the International Economic Reserve System. There would be no conflict between the two, as each system covers different commodities, with no duplication.

Financing the Economic Reserve System should not be overdifficult in a world which is able to finance global wars. Each nation might be responsible for financing the international reserves based on its proportionate share of the world production of each commodity covered. Raw-material-producing countries, with immature financial economies, could be assisted by financially mature countries, such as the United States, with low interest loans secured by the borrowers' shares in the International Economic Reserves.

Not only would such loans be good investments, but we would profit doubly through simultaneously freeing such countries from any possible threat of nazi-type economic and political encroachment. The borrowing, raw-material-producing countries would easily be able to carry the interest and amortization of such loans from the taxes levied on the incomes, economic transactions, and wealth of their peoples, as augmented by the guaranteed markets and prices of the International Economic Reserve System for the major basic commodities of world trade.

The International Economic Reserve System co-ordinates nicely with the Reciprocal Trade Treaty System—should we retain it in the post-war world, as seems probable. Perhaps it is a healthy sign of increasing economic literacy among us that leaders of all political parties and organized economic groups are agreeing that we cannot export on a long-time basis unless we welcome equivalent imports. If member-

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ship in the International Economic Reserve System were to be open only to nations participating in the Reciprocal Trade Treaty System, we should have an effective weapon to combat any possible nazi-type economic encroachment, using unfair competition of dumped goods, blocked-mark purchases, and other Schacht-style economic sleight of hand.

Reciprocal Trade Treaty agreements are a two-edged sword. On the forehand stroke they cut free the shackles that hinder the movements of trade between nations in the most-favored-nation group. But on the backhand stroke they may bite into the trade of non-co-operating and hence unfavored nations, who may be striving for a vicious economic domination. This fighting aspect of reciprocal trade agreements must not be overlooked, however much we wish to promote peaceful trade with all nations.

Moreover, the International Economic Reserve System could promote measures in all good-neighbor countries to prevent the nazi-minded countries from dumping manufactures in unfair competition. Nor could the latter achieve dominance by temporarily offering high prices for raw materials in blocked marks—later redeemable in canaries and harmonicas—so long as the "mint" prices of the International Economic Reserve System was open to the raw-material producer.

There are a number of difficulties connected with the administration of the Economic Reserve System, both national and international. Probably the greatest problem of all will be that of setting and maintaining the "mint" price for buying and selling any quantity of each commodity covered. We may be sure that the activities of pressure groups will be terrific. A lesser problem will be the setting of regional and local differentials from the "mint" price of each commodity, to equalize transportation and other differential costs, when this is desirable.

Perhaps what economists call the "bulk line" price—the price which calls forth the bulk of the supply of each commodity—will be our best guide. In any event the "mint" price for each commodity must be carefully set, and long maintained, with no changes except after long advance notice. Also, particularly in the International Economic Reserve System, consumer countries should have proportional representation equal to that of producer countries on each commodity committee; and the findings of each commodity committee, particularly its determinations on the "mint" price for its commodity, must be reviewed by the International Economic Reserve Board as a whole.

None of the difficulties of administering the Economic Reserve System is greater than the difficulties of the hand-to-mouth economic chaos with which we are recurrently confronted at present, both in peace and in war, and which are one of the major backgrounds of war. We could probably administer the system very poorly, and still be much better off than we have often found ourselves under the dispensations of our yet immature economy.

V

WHETHER we like it or not, we and all other countries of the world are inextricably bound together in a complex world-wide industrial exchange economy which is badly in need of some new institutions of social invention, so that it will function more smoothly. The fundamental economic problem that confronts each of us, whether as individual nations or as a family of nations, is how much and what sort of control constitutes a sufficient measure to assure continued high productivity and economic stability. Largely upon the solution of that problem depends the future welfare of ourselves and all of our good neighbors throughout the world.

It is not a one-dimensional problem of capitalism, or socialism, or communism, or fascism, or nazism, or nipponism that confronts us. All of these systems alike, in their economic aspects, are complex industrial exchange economies. They differ chiefly in regard to how the complex exchange economy shall be controlled, what sort of production shall be emphasized, and how the purchasing power to buy consumer goods shall be divided. But there are many fundamental elements of a modern complex industrial exchange economy which these political systems have in common; and these common fundamental elements may even more pro-

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foundly affect the economic productivity and stability of the system—whichever it may be—than do their points of difference.

The medium of exchange and standard of values used in the complex economic system form one of these common fundamental elements. Economic values and the prices of commodities are another; and the economic reserves of basic raw materials and semi-manufactures maintained within the economic system are still another. The Economic Reserve System builds on the experience we have had with these fundamental elements of all complex exchange economies, and expands the functions of reserves—as suggested by the official British proposal at the Food Conference and our American experience with the Ever-Normal Granary—not only to provide us with a generous safety factor of stores of major basic commodities, but also to stabilize the price structure and to contribute greatly toward maintaining high productivity and the general prosperity of continued near-capacity economic activity.

Perhaps the Economic Reserve System can become a powerful factor making for national and world economic stability and continued high productivity in the post-war era, and thereafter. But let us not make too high pretentions for its potentialities or overlook its limitations. For one thing, no amount of economic reconstruction can, by itself, overcome the persistent military yearning for glory and the booty of conquest. It has long been amply proven on economic grounds that neither war nor imperialism pays, and yet we find the cult of militarism persisting in culture groups all over the world. This is not primarily an economic problem. Some sort of a combination of a mutually inspected world disarmament, a trustworthy world police force with traditions, and a renewed confidence in moral values is needed to control that virus. Economic measures, by themselves, can work only to make conditions less favorable for its growth.

While the Economic Reserve System can promise us ten to twenty years of the prosperity that accompanies continued high productivity and good markets while we are accumulating our economic reserves, it cannot alone solve all economic problems. Most important of all, it cannot permanently solve the basic problem of distribution of income among the people in such a way that goods will be bought and consumed, that production will be indefinitely continued, and that our economic system will justify its existence by yielding all of us a decent standard of living. As the accumulation of economic reserves approaches its optimum amount for each major basic commodity, we must take steps to increase consumption, improve our general standards of living, increase our social securities and services, reduce the grosser inequalities in distribution of purchasing power, overhaul our fiscal and taxation systems, and so on. Unless we do these things, we ultimately face the ridiculous alternative of increasing our economic reserves far beyond the limits of adequacy or of falling off into an avoidable economic sideslip and tail spin.

Some critics of the Economic Reserve System may object that we should face the basic problem of distribution of income first and forthwith, instead of buying time and a false sense of security through accumulating what they may consider huge and unneeded reserves of major basic commodities which might just as well be dumped into the sea. The fact is that we do not yet seem to have sufficient public enlightenment on economic matters to solve our basic problem of distribution of purchasing power within any given short period of time. If this is true, then the question that confronts us is whether we will get that enlightenment best under a series of future booms, depressions, WPA's, civil wars, and world wars, or whether we can have a better measure of public economic enlightenment, instead of only false security, while we have years of prosperity accumulating our economic reserves, with our economic machine running continuously at near capacity.

If our economic machine runs continuously at near capacity, with all available purchasing power being put to immediate use for consumption, or for replacement and expansion of capital plant, whether in peacetime or wartime, we have prosperity. In wartime it is largely military, rather than preponderantly civilian, production and consumption. If, instead of war goods, we were now making civilian goods and purchasing them with current income, we should be having bountiful prosperity. The trick

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we have not yet learned—the function or institution we have not yet socially invented—is how always to keep our economic machine running at near capacity under all circumstances. The Economic Reserve System may be just the thing to turn this trick.

Some economists still believe that production, markets, and prices should be left strictly alone to find their own levels, or to keep shifting about without ever finding any levels, according to the law of the jungle and the "natural" economic law of supply and demand. Perhaps there are still some physicians, similarly, who believe that food and water supplies should be left strictly alone and that typhoid fever should find its own "natural" cure by a process of survival of the fittest and acquired natural immunity. But, unfortunately, those fittest to survive typhoid are not necessarily those fittest in all other respects as regards human values; nor does the "natural" economic law of supply and demand, as a law of the jungle, yield us an optimum standard of living. Perhaps, too, men should never expect to fly, in defiance of the "natural" law of gravitation, until they acquire an immunity to tumbling down and breaking their necks, or until they sprout wings by some future process of biological evolution.

VI

THE commodity reserves of the Economic Reserve System are not huge, unneeded wastes that might just as well be dumped into the sea. They are not accumulated merely to buy time and a false sense of security; and if we are intelligent we will not discontinue our efforts to solve other economic problems, such as reducing the inequalities of distribution of income and purchasing power, increasing our social securities, overhauling our fiscal and taxation systems, and so forth, during the prosperous post-war years while we are accumulating our economic reserves.

The commodity reserves of the system will serve the same function as the gold reserves of the Treasury and the reserves of bank credit of the Federal Reserve System. Thus, in addition to giving us the safety factor and security of sizable commodity reserves, the Economic Reserve System is designed to stabilize prices for major basic commodities, and to harmonize and balance our entire relatively free economy, by the mechanism of offering a constant market for the purchase or sale of major basic commodities at fair "mint" prices.

The usual objections to cartels simply do not apply to the Economic Reserve System. A cartel is an association of producers of one type of commodity, designed to control production, boost prices, and divide the market for the commodity among its producers, in order to exploit the entire economic community of all other producers and consumers to their own selfish advantage. On the contrary, the Economic Reserve System is designed to balance and harmonize the free production of all major basic commodities, and to stabilize and stimulate the free production and consumption of all kinds of finished goods and economic services, which will follow as an economic consequent, in the interests of the entire economic community. We might say that the cartel system is to the Economic Reserve System as an old-fashioned banking firm, in rigging the market for its own purposes, is to the Federal Reserve System, in freeing and stabilizing bank credit for the good of all.

Looking back over economic history, we can see an unmistakable trend toward greater and greater world-wide economic integration—pointing the way along the road we will eventually travel—despite even the furious detours into the wilderness being made by some peoples in following mad, blind, or economically ignorant leaders. Our political institutions have been slow in keeping pace with this world-wide economic trend. Yet the need for world peace and international co-operation, to permit the human comfort which will result from the flowering of our already economically integrated world, is very evident. Probably the progressive development of our economic institutions for the solution of mutual problems is the doorway to more successful international co-operation, and perhaps the Economic Reserve System, especially if co-ordinated with the Reciprocal Trade Treaty System, is the key to that doorway.

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Why not?

A UNITED NATIONS HEALTH SERVICE

by Ludwik Rajchman

HEALTH is the greatest commodity in the world. There are on earth somewhat more than two billion "consumers."

The "century of the common man" was born with the break-up of mighty empires in 1918. Its march was slowed down by pandemics of insecurity and aggression, but the pressures of the common man continued to make themselves felt. In the old world, governments were led to endow organized research or public works or to enact social laws. In the new world, while the "New Deal" was setting up social precedents, the great humanitarian foundations were demonstrating the acceleration in medical research and field reform which enlightened world effort backed by abundant funds could bring about. The League of Nations pioneered a health effort that showed the feasibility of practical co-operation by national agencies. But this effort was directed by experts and controlled by diplomats.

Progress in medicine and public health since 1919 has been truly fantastic. Expectation of life in Western countries was raised by several years; unlivable regions elsewhere were made fit for settlement; diseases considered hitherto almost fatal, socially dangerous chronic infections, dreaded wound complications were being conquered; nations became "nutrition conscious"; entirely new vistas were opened by physiology; and social protection was extended to almost every nation of the globe.

The League enjoyed during many a politically lean year, the glamor of success of its Health Organization. The latter's epidemics' commission was credited with stopping in 1921 the dreaded typhus at the very gates of Central Europe. Its Biological Standards Commission was praised universally for putting an end to a chaotic situation prevailing after World War I, from Washington to Moscow, from Buenos Aires and Tokyo to London. Its Singapore bureau waged the fight against pestilence within and outside the very area whence epidemic disease is borne by sea to distant lands. Its malaria commission brought together diverging schools of thought in Europe, Asia, and America into acceptance of common doctrines on malaria control treatment. Its committee of physiology pioneered internationally in nutrition and established the first world standards of minimum food requirements, extending its activity into thirty-four countries. Its housing commission broke through public health prejudice by utilizing physiology, industrial research, economic planning, and public policy in the creation of standards for building materials, physical requirements, and planning policies.

But any international agency stands and falls by its ability to serve common needs, and unless it is in the forefront of progress, degenerates rapidly into useless bureaucracy. The Health Organization, through trial and error, found its pattern of work. Whenever a problem was taken up, the best technical talent available in the world regardless of politics or origin, was pressed into service to define the terms of the problem. The

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result was then submitted for comment and advice to a multinational expert group wielding the greatest authority in the particular field. Before the group finally reported, complex and co-ordinated experiments and field research in several countries had often to be undertaken over a period of several months or years. The reports so obtained and accepted were finally submitted to international conferences and circulated to all administrations throughout the world for the guidance of national agencies. In this way a body of doctrine grew up, covering practically all the fields of social medicine, epidemiology, and public health. With them, there grew up a spirit of international teamwork among key health officers belonging to some sixty national administrations who, over a period of years, benefited from a system of "interchange" of each other's ever-evolving experiences in overcoming obstacles to medical and social progress.

Thus, the Health Organization came to be regarded by these countries as common property and not as an obnoxious outsider seeking some exclusive ends. In consequence, governments began applying to it for surveys of their health and medical services, or of particular problems. Thus, malaria was surveyed throughout the Mediterranean Area and in Soviet Russia; acute epidemics in Republican Spain and the Balkans; infant mortality in Holland, Belgium, and France. A comprehensive plan for the rehabilitation of Greece was elaborated by a group of American, British, French, Italian, Polish, Spanish, and Yugoslav experts. A program for the development of a Central Health Service was drawn up for the Chinese Government and formed the basis of active and continuous co-operation between the Chinese authorities and the Health Organization. This co-operation continued over a period of nine years and included the services to China of numerous technical experts.

Yet, despite its record, the League's Health Organization, along with the rest of the League, slumped into oblivion at the outbreak of World War II. It lacked a sufficient foundation of organized support from "consumers of health." The wholehearted support of "administrators of health" proved to be inadequate. As a mere appendage to a political body, the Health Organization suffered the fate of its parent League.

Health is, however, a prerequisite of victory in war, of success in reconstruction, and development in peace. The success of the League Health Organization was based on the willing co-operation of hundreds, if not thousands, of workers throughout many lands on all continents. The majority of them are still active in the ranks of the United Nations, even under enemy occupation. The tradition is still alive and could be reactivated. Why should it not be? And if it is, how should it be done?

For war service, a call to League health workers would rapidly bring together on an organized basis experience gained in peace, combined with that now being accumulated by the United Nations in the field. A consultative panel of such men, say of the United States, the British Commonwealth, Soviet Russia, France, China, Poland, Holland, Belgium, Greece, Norway, Turkey, Yugoslavia, and Iran, with a small inside steering group, might immediately expedite the framing of common policies to allocation of supplies and the common application of war experience.

For permanent peace activity, a *United Nations Health Organization,* started in time of war, must derive its strength from those whom it is to serve, from the two billion "consumers of health"—from you and me—on a basis of organized representation. Public health is essentially the responsibility of local governments and of social security services, both under the control of national governments. These or similar agencies might be equally represented through an annual assembly and on a permanent Central Committee of the U.N.H.O., just as organized labor, organized employers, and governments are equally represented in annual conferences and on the governing body of the International Labor Office.

When we ask why, alone among League organizations, the International Labor Office survived the cataclysm of global war as a going concern, the answer is in part because the United States belonged to it and supported it. More important is the fact that it was built upon the solid foundation of vested interest. Organized labor never

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lost confidence in the Office while federated employers and governments alike found its cautious technical efficiency conducive to orderly social progress.

II

In future, all international agencies must seek a similar basis of popular support. Adequate machinery for election of delegates of the "consumers," as represented by municipal authorities and social security agencies, can be worked out as simply as was done at the I.L.O. for labor and employers. The importance of the job for everyone should be emphasized by direct popular support. People gladly—most people at any rate—are willing to pay something for pure water, air at least partly free from smoke and chemical contamination, sewage, public hospitals, etc. Here lies the solution to the problem how to finance what seems an ambitious project.

The Health Office should be financed by a health tax levied in all participating countries; thus linking the "customers" to the "commodity" by the price.

Take the existing annual appropriations for public health and social medicine, where this last exists, of local governments (municipal, county, provincial or state), social security agencies, and national governments and add *one per cent* (one cent on every dollar now expended!) for the United Nations Health Office. This charge, though negligible to the tax-payer, would be enough to finance the work of the Office both at international headquarters and within the participating countries. Constructive health projects could be financed throughout the world.

How effective could this new activity become?

Let us admit that only "Freedom from Want" can secure really adequate health for everybody. Until people are adequately fed, no medicine or hygiene can keep them hale. The important thing to bring home is that, by and large, health is purchasable at a price varying with changing economic and social conditions. To determine this price and to plan and act accordingly is the function of national health agencies. The function of the U.N.H.O. would be to assist these national services, when requested, in a vast field of common endeavor requiring imagination and initiative. The chief fields of such assistance might be somewhat as follows:

A. Even in the lamentably few areas of the world where adequate medical care and sanitation exist, no long-term economic development can dispense with a minimum of health planning. The task is considerable. Thus, for example, Great Britain, for 46,000,000 people, has 62,000 doctors and 100,000 nurses; Japan, for 100,000,000, has 50,000 doctors; yet India, for 400,000,000 has only 42,000 doctors and 4,500 nurses; while China, for 460,000,000 has just 9,000 doctors and 2,000 nurses. Two hundred and fifty million Europeans, 100,000,000 Arabs, and 200,000,000 Latin Americans stand somewhere between the two extremes. The U.N.H.O. should therefore begin by pooling the experience and educational facilities of national health services, medical schools, and research institutes everywhere. This would be directed to a vast co-ordinated effort of planning systems for the rapid training and enrollment in divisional national public health services of hundreds of thousands of doctors, sanitary specialists, and nurses.

B. Smallpox, typhus, malaria, yellow fever, plague, cholera, and other diseases can be eradicated from most of the areas where they still prevail endemically by the same means that they have been eradicated from most European and American regions. In some cases, this would entail political, economic, and social reforms beyond the competence of health authorities. In most areas, however, determined and correlated health measures would be enough. A center of epidemiological intelligence at the United Nations Health headquarters, with regional bureaus and a service of the United Nations Sanitary Sea and Air Traffic inspectors, as well as regional laboratories under a grant-in-aid system would probably do the job.

C. Multinational field and laboratory research can help in the successful control of many infections and social diseases, such as tuberculosis, venereal diseases, infantile paralysis, and childhood infections, by national agencies. The sensational success enjoyed by Germany in chemo-therapeutics was largely due to the employment of literally hundreds of scientists with thousands

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Suggested Branches of the U.N.H.O.

A *EPIDEMIOLOGICAL FIELD SERVICE:*

1. *Quarantine:* The principal Maritime Nations are proud of their quarantine services; they should be reassured that their ports of entry (land, sea, and air) would continue to be under the present incumbents, delegated to the UNPHSM Service as co-ordinators. U.N. inspectors would insure co-ordination between and take charge of transit ports, particularly for air traffic. All Ship Surgeons would be controlled by the UNPHSM Service as well as seamen's dispensaries at all ports.
2. *Regional Intelligence and Co-ordination Bureaus and Laboratories:* All existing Regional Bureaus (Eastern, Middle East, etc.), would be placed under a special U.N. Commission to take over direction and recommend new statutes.
3. The Pan-American Sanitary Bureaus and Inter-American Health Agencies would continue as heretofore.

B *COLONIAL MEDICAL AND HEALTH SERVICE:*

A special Joint Commission (U.S.A., British, French, Dutch, Spanish, Portuguese, and independent experts) should take over forthwith all existing National Services under United Nations' authority and recommend a new statute. A new Consolidated Service would be financed as the component services have been hitherto, with necessary readjustments of salaries.

C *CENTRAL RESEARCH SERVICE:*

1. Central U.N. Biological Institute.
2. U.N. Health Research and Training Center (on the model of U.S.A. Health Institute or similar ones elsewhere) with overseas branches.
3. U.N. School of Advanced Health Studies for principal specialized health officers of National Agencies, including Medical Schools. A statute of such a school was worked out in detail by the League of Health Committee.

D *SOCIAL MEDICINE AND PUBLIC HEALTH BRANCH:*

1. Specialists at headquarters would act as secretaries to standing expert Commissions on various specific problems. The Secretariat of a Special Commission on Medical Education and Medical Care would be composed of delegates of Medical Schools, Social Security Agencies, and Ministries of Public Instruction.
2. Resident Officers within National Agencies would represent UNPHSM Service and engage in regional co-ordination and interchange of information and services as required.
3. Special Service for care of transferred populations and of seasonal and other migrations as well as expert Service for special projects on international or national basis should be established.

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of assistants, all experimenting simultaneously on tens of thousands of laboratory objects. There is no reason why the United Nations should not succeed far beyond Germany, and on a much greater scale. All that is needed is intelligent intervention with adequate means behind it.

The Biological Standards Commission set up by the League should continue under the United Nations to determine standards and methods of assay. It should continue to supply certain standard preparations to national agencies, and its work should be completed by the creation of a new United Nations Standards Laboratory.

D. Applied physiology is adding every day to the possibility of better physical fitness, better nutrition, better housing, better conditions for factory and farm work. Yet an immense field of experience, both old and new, remains to be surveyed, in part by specialized personnel. Practical conclusions drawn from this survey should be made available regularly to all national health agencies. Standards of performance in sport, graduated so as to apply to the various popular forms of physical exercise, should be established and popularized through such institutions as the Olympic Games (if desired, rebaptized "United Nations Games").

A particularly promising field would be the control of social disease by securing the adoption of nutritional policies laid down by a United Nations Agricultural Food Office. New building materials and methods in the field of housing require international investigation and the setting of new standards. International agreements should be concluded covering both urban and rural hygiene, as well as the intricacies of social security arrangements.

III

SUCCESS in these wide fields would depend almost entirely on the quality of the executives of the United Nations Organization and their clear understanding of the limitations of the task before them. Social medicine and public health are activities profoundly national in character. They affect practically every individual, reach into the intimate life of every family. Connected with them are the individual's own effort for well-being, and therefore human pride itself.

While disease respects no national frontiers, these frontiers constitute the limits of individual prejudice. It is the prejudiced individual who must be persuaded freely to accept new health gospels and freely to take part in co-operative efforts at the control and eradication of disease. The U.N.H.O. must nowhere substitute itself for national agencies. It must assist them all. Its aim must be the same, regardless of the various ways of collaboration with the individual states. It must never forget that United States and Great Britain need international biological standards just as much as Greece. China is as interested in tests of mental fitness as Switzerland or Holland. Great Britain, France, and the United States would all derive advantages from the effective international control of yellow fever or malaria. And if China or Iran would certainly benefit from Western training in medicine and Western experience in sanitation, others like Belgium or Denmark would benefit by each successive improvement of systems of public medical service in Russia.

One may imagine the work of the United Nations Health Office in two ways: Under the League of Nations a very small and overburdened expert headquarters staff (not exceeding fifteen at its peak), initiated studies, and sometimes action, and co-ordinated the execution of its plans through international technical commissions and national agencies. The large federated areas like the United States, India, or Soviet Russia, operate through federal health services whose work does not differ fundamentally from that of the U.N.H.O., as envisaged. Of the lot, the United States Public Health Service emerged as the most successful example anywhere. My proposal is to constitute a United Nations Public Health and Social Medicine service along American lines, for its tasks are obvious.

Some sort of multinational control is necessary in colonial empires, particularly in the Pacific area and in Africa, where health and medicine have been used to open up new areas and maintain them while developing old ones. The United Nations Public Health and Social Medicine Service, called henceforth the UNPHSM Service, should effectively carry out these functions.

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It is obvious that in the coming years air and sea traffic, particularly intercontinental transit, must be under the strictest surveillance if disease and disease carriers prevalent in one area are not to be spread all over the world. Who could perform this service as effectively as the organization suggested?

Both colonial and traffic services might need their own regional research laboratories and training schools. The service would best be under a Director General appointed by the Annual Assembly mentioned earlier, who would at the same time act as Secretary-General with a central committee of the UNPHSM Service. The total staff might well be several thousand strong, since the colonial and epidemiological branches would need to be numerous. These officers would have to be sure of their jobs and of a reasonable standard of living.

A research branch would staff the United Nations Biological Standards Institute, the research and training center for field officers and exploratory and research missions for the study and control of diseases. At their request, information or advice would be given to national agencies on all relevant matters.

How should the proposed service be put together?

On the basis of long experience, I suggest it be composed of contingents of officers nominated by national agencies and appointed on the basis of merit by a joint commission consisting of the UNPHSM Service and the respective national agency. As the appointees would in most cases serve within their own countries, the service could in no sense be considered "foreign." Top supervision could be exercised by an international headquarters staff composed of specialized officers in charge of the several branches and of standing commissions of experts. Precedent for the efficiency of such a headquarters was set by the health section of Geneva, made up of some eighteen nationalities from all parts of the world.

The size of the operations would be set by the available funds, namely, by the total of the health tax. Advanced countries would profit through increased prosperity and security if health standards improved throughout the world. Furthermore, if it would be advisable to locate the central research and training institutes within the United States, Great Britain, and France, the latter's top flight activities could not but benefit directly kindred American and British institutions, attracting large numbers of foreign collaborators of the highest quality and thereby enhancing the influence of the progressive thought of the more advanced countries. Benefits to be derived by medically backward countries are too evident to need description.

It must, however, be repeated: Each country would have to be treated differently. There is much to improve everywhere. Thus, for instance, while the eradication of tuberculosis requires a certain level of national prosperity and social organization, wealthy Denmark succeeded where wealthy France failed. England and Wales were both richer and better organized than Germany, yet their death rates were higher than the German. Cholera and plague are infinitely less prevalent in China than in India, although the latter enjoys much more numerous medical and health services.

So much for my proposal.

The Post Office and the Red Cross are today symbols of service everywhere. They should be joined tomorrow by the United Nations Public Health Service with its variety of centers. Supported by the infinitesimal contribution from you and me and from all the two billion consumers of health, and directed by our elected representatives, this service would none the less dispose of a revenue enabling it to confer concrete benefits on all.

Experience has shown that every public activity, including international efforts, is part and parcel of the policy of the government or governments that control it. It prospers or declines with the governments. It was so with the League of Nations; it will be so with the United Nations. Today, the prevalent trend is to steer shy of international covenants in favor of practical *ad hoc* arrangements. A United Nations Food Office, Currency Office, Relief and Rehabilitation Office are to precede the calling together of any formal United Nations Political Executive.

Let us add the UNPHSM Service to the list to function in the war and to become a portion of the political framework of the peace.

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World Scene in Washington

by ERNEST K. LINDLEY

THREE circumstances distinguished the Quebec conference, in degree if not in character, from the earlier meetings of President Roosevelt and Prime Minister Churchill and their Chiefs of Staff: (1) A high level of popular confidence in their military judgment; (2) the relatively small amount of military spadework that had to be done; and (3) growing concern, both on the part of the public and in official circles, about political questions, notably relations with Russia, the future of Germany, and preparations generally for the organization of the peace.

The first Roosevelt-Churchill meeting, off Newfoundland, was associated in the public mind with the Atlantic Charter, although it was largely devoted to a survey of military problems: control of the Atlantic sea lanes, ways in which the United States, while still a non-belligerent, could aid the British in the Middle East, the defense of the Far East, and the prospects of Russian survival (a matter on which Harry Hopkins, just returned from his visit to Stalin, made an optimistic report, reinforcing the beliefs of the President and Mr. Churchill that their professional military advisers, like Hitler and the German general staff, had underestimated the military strength of the Soviet Union).

At the second meeting, in Washington after Pearl Harbor, the grand strategic decision to concentrate first on the defeat of Germany was a severe wrench to American pubic opinion. Mr. Roosevelt was widely, and often bitterly, criticized for permitting Mr. Churchill to "dictate" how and where the United States should fight. That this decision was in fact dictated by hard military facts came to be understood only gradually. By the third meeting, in Washington in June, 1942, nothing had happened to inspire popular confidence in Anglo-American military leadership except the Battle of Midway. The period from then until November severely taxed public patience. It was terminated, of course, by the occupation of French North Africa followed, within a week, by the turning of the tide in the lower Solomons.

At Casablanca, Messrs. Roosevelt and Churchill and the Chiefs of Staff had begun to earn confidence in their military competence. At Washington, in May of this year, the biggest question still troubling a large section of the public and a portion of the American command was the war in the Pacific. These misgivings were largely allayed by Mr. Churchill's speech to Congress, a small increase in the air power allocated to the Pacific theater, and the plans agreed upon for stepping up the war against Japan by way of India and China.

As the Quebec conference assembled, hardly a word of criticism or suggestion about military strategy was to be found in the press or on the radio. Among the Chiefs of Staff themselves there were doubtless differences of opinion. But the range of these differences almost certainly had been narrowed by the master plan for winning the war against both major enemies, agreed upon in May. Thus, the Quebec conference was singularly free from home political pressures, and the conferees had no reason to question the essential military soundness of their own plans. They did, however, have reason to re-examine the tentative time tables of proposed operations and to judge whether the remarkable improvement on the Russian front and on the Atlantic sea-lanes, plus German reaction to strategic bombing, made possible a short-cut to victory in Europe.

Negatively, in terms of Germany's prospects, conservative American military opinion at the time of the Quebec conference could be summed up this way: Germany will not be able to launch and sustain another major offensive everywhere. (This assumes that the Germans do not devise a revolutionary offensive weapon. Although remote, this possibility is never absent from

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the minds of military strategists.) Germany can therefore hope to escape complete defeat only by waging a long defensive war or by splitting the Allies and negotiating a separate peace either with Russia or with the British-American combination. To wage a successful defensive war the Germans must break the Allied air offensive, which is surely and steadily sapping their military strength, even though strategic bombing in itself probably will not produce victory. Such an air defense may be technically possible, but our air strategists consider it highly improbable in the case of Germany, owing to the weight of the Allied air attacks.

II

In view of all these circumstances, Russia's demands for a "Second Front" seemed fraught more with political significance and less with military than at the previous Anglo-American war councils. In 1942, Russia's need for a major diversion on the ground in the west bordered on desperation. Important elements in the American high command agreed with the Russians. They would have sacrificed a British-American army in the west, if necessary, to save Russia from defeat or military impotence and prevent a juncture of the Germans and Japanese in the Middle East. But after balancing all the risks, Messrs. Roosevelt and Churchill decided otherwise.

By Quebec, however, it seemed reasonably clear that if the Russians should drop out of the war before the total defeat of Germany, it would be for political reasons, not from military necessity. Why was Moscow combining its revised demands for a "Second Front" with hints that it desired a Germany that would be strong within its pre-war boundaries? Did Moscow really believe that the Western Allies were deliberately delaying frontal assaults on Europe by land? Were the Russians genuinely unable to comprehend the magnitude of the American-British effort or to agree with the wisdom of the Roosevelt-Churchill strategy? It is a commonplace among the American and British high commands that the Russians do not understand sea warfare or the logistics of waging war across water. Almost certainly they have not been able to grasp the difficulties of conquering the submarine, of building up and supplying huge forces overseas, and of organizing amphibious offensives.

Messrs. Roosevelt and Churchill clearly are as eager as the Russians to conclude the war with Germany at the earliest possible moment. Moreover, they are committed publicly to a total victory over Germany, which Russia, at the time of this writing, is not. At Quebec, they and their professional military advisers had less cause than ever before to doubt the soundness of their plans from the cold military viewpoint. If the Russian complaints were due solely to differences in military judgment, they were not alarming. If the Russians were merely seeking to strengthen their post-war bargaining position in relation to their Allies, there was no reason for deep concern. But if the Russians really favored a strong Germany, the United States and Britain faced a tough problem. These questions could not be answered by the professional military men; they were for the President and Mr. Churchill and their diplomatic advisers.

The President and his chief advisers on foreign policy are not only determined to exhaust every possibility of reaching a friendly and enduring understanding with Russia; they have been genuinely hopeful, I think it is accurate to say, that such an understanding can be achieved, because they believe it to be necessary to Russia's long-term interests. For the same reason, they doubt that Russia really wants to see Germany preserved as a strong state within its pre-war boundaries. The main problem, as they see it, is the liquidation of the heritage of distrust between Russia and the West. If this can be accomplished, everything else will fall into its place: specific problems, such as Russia's frontiers, will become more readily soluble. But it is realized, inside the Administration as well as outside it, that the time is near when certain concrete understandings ought to be reached with Russia, especially as to the future of Germany. On this question, American policy has not been completely defined, especially in its political and economic phases. Some officials look with favor, however, on proposals to separate Germany into two or more states.

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VICTIMS OF FASCISM

Robert Danneberg

by

Schiller Marmorek

ALL those who loved and admired the new, the "Red" Vienna will share the deep grief of Austrian Socialists, who are mourning the loss of one of their best men. Robert Danneberg has been murdered by the Nazis. His name is linked inseparably with the glory of that Vienna which was in thought and in monument an example of socialist achievement and socialist culture for the masses. Robert Danneberg died, as we now learn, on the twelfth of last December, at the hands of the Nazis in Poland, after more than four and a half years of indescribable suffering in prisons and concentration camps. The Gestapo reported "a sudden heart failure." The world understands what this means. He was transferred from the Buchenwald camp to be murdered in one of the ghastly slaughterhouses established in that country of disaster.

The brown beast wiped out a man who united in his devotion to the cause of socialism brilliant and rare qualities apparently contradictory to each other. He was passionate in his love for the working class and at the same time, a cool tactician. He realized that political programs met the hostility of all the world, and yet he planned the most far-reaching reforms. He concerned himself with the minute details of what he conceived and built, but he never permitted himself to become mired in the petty details of political and administrative routine. He was both a fighter and an administrator, both an idealist and a realist who patiently followed his idea: the liberation of the working class by educating it and enabling it to be the author of its own freedom.

The brutal executioners, being of a paranoid criminal order, may not even have known whom they killed. For them he was only one of hundreds of thousands of victims. They, men of the people, destroyed a man whose life and deed were directed only toward the goal of bettering the lives of the people, and who was the greatest hope for the resumption of this task in devastated Europe. This past and this future have been senselessly annihilated.

Robert Danneberg's biography is the history of the Austrian Socialist party—its rise, its period of power, its collapse under the blows of various kinds of fascism. He came from a well-to-do Viennese bourgeois family, and his career seemed to be predestined. As a fifteen-year-old schoolboy he aligned himself with socialism; he wanted to go to the people, to live with them, learn with them, and know them by becoming one of them. He, the bourgeois son, joined the young workers of his age, the apprentices in factories and errand boys and girls in stores. These young people were, at the beginning of our century, the most exploited and neglected part of the working class. Danneberg helped older workers organize them. Eventually, this Austrian youth organization grew so strong that it attracted the attention of the Socialist International. When, at its Congress in 1907, the International decided to form a youth group, Vienna was made the administrative and propaganda center, with young Danneberg as the first secretary.

This, his earliest political activity, is important in understanding his manner of working and planning: helping the workers and thus diffusing the spirit of socialism, worker solidarity, and socialist morale. His youth organization inspired new generations with the socialist ideology and produced a number of excellent leaders.

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Methodically he continued in this path. He created within the Socialist party a great organization for the education of workers. This idea is a common one today, carried out to some extent everywhere, and it was being timidly experimented with at that time. But imagine the period before the first World War, when the poor of Europe were practically excluded from higher education and lacked opportunity to follow scientific or artistic inclinations. Now, with the aid of the socialist intellectuals and their sympathizers, there were lectures, evening schools, courses in all subjects, even Latin and Greek, dramatics and music. The worker could—and did—educate and entertain himself in the same way as the members of the ruling classes. The psychological effect was an instantaneous rise in self-confidence and pride that elevated the Austrian workers to a degree which cannot be sufficiently estimated, and influenced their further evolution.

After the fall of the autocratic Hapsburg Empire, and the breaking of the chains with which it was synonymous, greater responsibilities than ever before were placed on Danneberg. In 1919, he was elected to parliament, and soon became one of the most influential deputies and a leading

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member of the Social Democratic party. It was a vast task which the Republic took over—to rebuild economically, politically, and morally a devastated country and a pauperized people. The Socialist party embraced a large segment of the population, but did not constitute a majority. Austria was resolutely republican, but not socialist. Socialism could not be established in the face of the bitter opposition of the victorious powers. So the Socialist party erected a democratic Republic, and Danneberg was one of the artisans of the new constitution, which was inspired by the democratic principles of socialism.

In Vienna, the industrial, free-minded capital, with its two-thirds socialist majority, it was possible to achieve more. Here the highest aim could be realized, and Danneberg set to work to bring it about. The way was not easy and would have seemed impracticable to a less patient man than he. Vienna was part of an agrarian, reactionary province. The peasants of the surrounding districts would neither agree to socialist policy nor consent to forego the advantages which the great city offered. Danneberg liberated Vienna by persuading the representatives of the reactionary, agrarian province to agree to a separation.

He used his own particular kind of eloquence. He was not a speaker of the inflammatory type. His power consisted in lucid presentation of facts and their interrelation. His adversaries in so far as they belonged to the human race and were open to reason—which nazi brutes were not—could not escape his ironclad and invincible arguments; eventually, though reluctantly, they were obliged to agree with him. So Danneberg convinced the peasants of Lower Austria of the advantages of a clean break. So, later on, he won over, through nightlong conferences, an Austrian Chancellor who, following the political fashion of the time, wanted to appease the domestic Fascists by throwing them chunks of democracy to devour. Danneberg, delegated to the task by his party, saved democracy and the democratic constitution in Austria, at least for the time being.

Thus, he freed Vienna and gave her her own legislation, her own budget, and her own socialist diet, of which he was first majority leader and then president. But the budget was without money. The preceding regime had been corrupt and had governed on behalf of the bankers, landlords, and propertied classes. The municipal treasury was empty when the Socialists took over the Viennese Government. The people were starving and dispirited. As a consequence of the long war, Vienna was the poorest city in Europe. But she was fortunate enough to find herself possessed of great men in her time of need. Among them was Robert Danneberg, the brain, the impulse, the will of that group of Socialists who undertook on a smaller scale what the men of the French Revolution had undertaken— "to do what the world had never seen."

He and the then secretary of the treasury of the municipal government, Hugo Breitner, who succeeded in escaping nazi brutality and now lives in the United States, discovered in impoverished Vienna financial sources that had been either unknown or unused. These two men converted a dream into reality.

Vienna, celebrated for her artistic beauty and heritage, was also famous for the slums in her workers' districts, and the diseases, especially tuberculosis— "the Viennese disease"—which were their consequence. The Socialists of Vienna inaugurated better housing conditions as the first of their tasks. In the heart of the city and in the suburbs around Vienna, they built apartment houses accommodating a hundred thousand families and thus caring for three to five hundred thousand men, women, and children—sanitary buildings constructed in modern style, open to sun and air, with balconies and gardens, baths, nurseries, kindergartens, libraries, recreation rooms. Alongside the baroque palaces and the old governmental buildings arose this Vienna for the poor, a magnificent Vienna visited by men of good will from all over the world, who came to see, to praise, and to imitate.

They wondered where in this obviously poverty-ridden city the money had been found for these municipal projects. It came from the only possible source, the rich. Danneberg and Breitner established special housing taxes which in a capitalistic world were as new as the purpose for which they were employed—luxury taxes on night clubs, expensive restaurants, horse races, on music

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halls and theaters (for a performance of Shakespeare or Schiller the taxes were lower than for a musical show), on those who had more than two domestic servants, and on those who were wealthy enough to live in luxurious apartments or in palaces. Red Vienna lived on these taxes, independent of banks and loans, and, with no interest to pay, was able to fix the rents in the municipal dwellings so low that they amounted to no more than a few dollars a month. Red Vienna was free to plan and to act in a manner which a reactionary newspaper denounced as "welfare inflation." Red Vienna was proud of such invective as well as of the hatred which her luxury taxes provoked. The policies that she carried out constituted a cultural, social, and psychological revolution.

II

THE life of Robert Danneberg advanced in a straight line from his organization of Austrian working youth up to this historic action. As general secretary of the Social Democratic party, he achieved the amazing result of making this party one of the greatest popular parties that have ever existed. Never did he swerve from his guiding purpose: to do what was possible for the working class within a given situation and to prepare it for socialism through socialism.

International fascism brought about the downfall of all he believed in. The new fascist governments looked at socialist Vienna with hatred and envy. She was not the strategic fortress of the Viennese working class, as her enemies insinuated, but she was a moral fortress of liberty and socialism, and as such they wanted to destroy her. Under the shadow of the two great bandits, Mussolini with his promises and Hitler with his threats, their threadbare Austrian imitators first robbed Vienna by decrees and then conquered her with machine guns and cannon. The socialist Viennese Government was eliminated; the town hall over which the red flag had fluttered as a symbol of the people was polluted first by the green rag of an aristocratic-military clique and then by the hate-inspiring swastika.

In 1934, Danneberg was arrested by the Dollfuss Government on a charge of high treason, and was kept in prison eight months. Within the prison walls he began to organize the Austrian Underground movement. Upon his release, though under strict police supervision, he proceeded to arouse Austrian labor against Dollfuss and Schuschnigg, taking charge of all the activities which constitute an Underground movement—advising the young people, saving the party's remaining funds, and reestablishing the line of secret propaganda. Until his last moment as a free man, he tried to point the way to liberty and the maintenance of Austrian independence.

March, 1938, marked the end of his active career. When the Schuschnigg regime collapsed and Hitler entered Austria, Danneberg fled to Czechoslovakia, but was sent back to Vienna by the reactionary Hodza Government. There he was immediately seized by the Gestapo, and on his dossier was written, "For life." First he was taken to the notorious concentration camp at Dachau, and from there transferred to Buchenwald. For four and a half years his courage never flagged, and he concentrated his immense moral energy on the effort to survive. Late in 1942, he was deported to Poland, where his dossier was ended.

When Danneberg's wife, who now lives in London, learned of his death, she again looked through the few papers which she had saved from the Gestapo. The first two things she found were symbolic: a book written by her husband years ago on the program of the Austrian Socialist party, with the dedication, "In order to make my son a good Socialist"; and a sheet of paper on which he had jotted down a sentence of Mazzini, "Martyrdom is never in vain."

The future for humanity and for himself was dreadful, more dreadful than his civilized, humanitarian mind could foresee. With millions of others he suffered the most tragic martyrdom, but it will not have been in vain. From the bodies of those who have been murdered and whose blood has been shed will arise not only the necessary, purifying revenge, but also a spirit that will bar forever the return of men and opinions like those that destroyed Robert Danneberg's world. Those who knew this man or were inspired by his character, his mind, his purpose, and his sentiments will say: This spirit of a better time is the image of Robert Danneberg's spirit.

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6 YEARS of China's Resistance to Japanese Aggression

BY
MAJOR GENERAL
W. C. TSEI

THE aim of the Japanese invasion of China was not the conquest of China alone. The conquest of China was only the first step in the realization of the great Japanese dream, the conquest of the world. For with the natural resources of China at her disposal, Japan would be in a position to conquer the world. This intention was clearly set forth in the petition of the late General Tanaka to the Emperor of Japan, in which he said: "Before conquering the world, we must first conquer China; before conquering China, we must first conquer Manchuria and Korea."

The invasion of Manchuria on September 18, 1931, was only the beginning of the realization of this dearly cherished dream. Japan's demand for the cession of North China in 1936, and the Japanese attack on the Marco Polo Bridge July 7, 1937, which was followed by a general attack on China, were logical steps. When Japan started her war on China, she expected to bring China to her knees within three months. With all China's man power and resources at her command, she felt she could fight the British Empire and the United States successfully. As a consequence of her miscalculations in the war against China, however, she succeeded only in getting her feet stuck in Chinese mud. That was the reason why, on the formation of the Axis in 1938, Japan was unable to fight with her allies, Germany and Italy.

At the end of 1941, observing that the United States was becoming stronger every day, Japan could wait no longer. She attacked Pearl Harbor. But her traditional dream could not be realized fully because of her losses in China. If Japan had been free to attack the United Nations immediately after the fall of Dunkirk and Paris according to plan, the history of World War II might have been written differently.

Why was Japan unable to conquer China? Japanese militarists have been planning to conquer China for the last sixty years. They were convinced that they could realize their dream in a very short time

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because China was unprepared for war. But Chinese military leaders adopted the following military tactics to correct China's weaknesses:

A. In their resistance to Japanese aggression, Chinese strategy was to buy time with space in order to complete their mobilization and strengthen their armed forces.

B. After each battle of attrition, the Chinese withdraw to the interior in order to broaden their front. This strategy obliges the attacking army to disperse. When the enemy is sufficiently weakened by the dispersal of troops, the Chinese attack again.

C. As they withdraw from each point, the Chinese post large numbers of guerrillas at the enemy's rear. In this way, almost the entire population is mobilized to exhaust the Japanese in guerrilla warfare.

D. After the evacuation of Hankow, the Chinese began not only to intensify their minor attacks, but to hold their positions.

E. The military interest of the enemy was dynamic strategy, that is to say, to concentrate all his troops and air force to attack a given point. In doing so, the Japanese hoped to attract the Chinese main forces to that point so that they might annihilate them. Against this Japanese strategy, the Chinese continued to enlarge their front and avoided fighting decisive battles. But when the physical conditions of the battlefield were favorable, the Chinese also employed dynamic strategy to destroy the enemy. Otherwise, the Chinese retreated so as to draw the enemy to a new battlefield they had chosen themselves, where they could destroy him. In employing such strategy, the Chinese could choose the time and place most favorable to themselves. In applying both dynamic and attrition strategies at the same time, the Chinese were able to take over the initiative from the enemy, forcing him to follow the lead of the Chinese Army.

At the beginning of the war, the Chinese General Staff divided the whole military campaign into two periods. During the first period, the Chinese tried to resist the enemy as much as possible in order to exhaust him, and to widen the front. In the second period, the Chinese tried to hold their stand and to counterattack. The Battle of Hankow was the line of demarcation between the two periods. At the time of the battle of Hankow, Japan already had forty divisions in China, but she could not use all these armed forces in the battlefield because the Chinese had widened the front so much that the Japanese General Staff was obliged to station a large number of troops in the rear. The greatest number of troops they could use for the main front was thirteen divisions. This proved the effectiveness of the Chinese strategy of using space against the enemy.

When the war began, China had only two million soldiers, who were stationed in various strategic points throughout the country. It was very difficult for China to resist such a strong enemy while general mobilization was incomplete. At the time of the battle of Hankow, the Chinese Army had increased to five million men, not counting three million guerrillas. This proved the effectiveness of the Chinese strategy of buying time with space.

Before the battle of Hankow, the Chinese had already destroyed seventy thousand of the enemy. During this period, 94 per cent of the battles were initiated by the enemy. After the battle of Hankow, however, 47 per cent of the battles were initiated by the Chinese. This proved that the military situation of the enemy in China had been weakened since the battle of Hankow, while the Chinese were unceasingly strengthening their forces. This proves the effectiveness of the whole Chinese military plan, which consists in using dynamic and attrition strategies at the same time, and in resisting unceasingly until the enemy is exhausted to the point of death.

Since the beginning of the war, the enemy has not been able to fight a decisive battle with the Chinese. This is a proof of the failure of the enemy's strategy of destroying the Chinese Army as quickly as possible in order to bring China to submission. When the Sino-Japanese War started, the slogan of the Japanese was, "the conquest of China in three months." At the time of the battle of Hankow, their slogan was, "to conquer China in six months." At the present time, the Japanese, having lost their pretentions, shout only, "We must continue to fight the Sino-Japanese War, even if it takes a hundred years."

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II

TODAY China has been fighting for six long years with only light infantry against the well-equipped Japanese who have great quantities of big planes, big guns, and big tanks. During these six long years, the Japanese have fought nineteen battles in northern, central, and southern China, using more than ten thousand soldiers in each. The two battles which lasted longest were those of Shanghai and Hankow. These two battles lasted three months and four months respectively. Altogether, the nineteen battles lasted twenty-one months, that is to say, during twenty-one months of the last six years, the Chinese were steadily fighting the Japanese in those great battles. Besides these, 852 other battles were fought. In nine of them, the enemy employed from twenty to thirty thousand soldiers. In addition, 15,300 small battles and 2,859 guerrilla engagements took place.

As a result of all the above-mentioned engagements, 688,000 Japanese were killed, 1,374,000 were wounded, and 22,000 were captured. In addition, 600,000 of the auxiliary forces working in the rear of the enemy were killed or wounded. This makes a total of 2,684,000 casualties.

In this Sino-Japanese War, China has mobilized nearly all of her population to fight the aggressors in regular as well as guerrilla warfare. This created a new phase of the struggle for existence in human history. The full strength of China's tremendous population has been fully utilized in resisting and drawing the enemy into difficult positions. The success of this Chinese strategy has prevented the enemy from exploiting the man power and resources of the occupied territory. Consequently, the enemy has been able to occupy only the lines of communication and the cities. All the vast territory between the lines of communication and the cities is the sphere of activity of the Chinese guerrillas. In all the territories between the lines of communication and the cities, the Chinese local governments, under the protection of the guerrillas, continue to exercise their functions. The enemy has never been able to penetrate into these areas without the protection of large numbers of troops. Without it, he was immediately destroyed by Chinese guerrillas. Since the enemy was obliged to stay in the cities, the Chinese guerrillas were able to destroy his lines of communication.

Such territories are divided into many sections. In each section, a regiment of local militia or of the regular army helps the local government organize the population into guerrillas. Favorable spots within these sections are chosen as headquarters for guerrilla warfare. Food and medical supplies are concentrated. The whole civilian population is organized into women's battalions, children's battalions, or youth guards—all of them are in charge of watching the movements of the enemy or conducting guerrilla warfare. When the enemy comes in large numbers, the civilian population destroys roads and water reservoirs before transferring their food and cattle to their guerrilla headquarters. They wait for the Japanese to penetrate deeply into their territory, then they attack from all sides, cut off the way of retreat, and finally destroy them. This makes the Japanese in the occupied areas most uncomfortable.

During the past six years, the Japanese have incessantly tried to clean the guerrillas out of the occupied territory, but they have failed completely. This is due to the successful tactics of the guerrillas, which consist in retreating when the enemy attacks, attacking when the enemy retreats, disturbing when the enemy is stationary, destroying when the enemy is tired. It is for all these reasons that the Chinese have always been confident of their final victory.

The Japanese are totally lacking in military morality. Rape, burning, and killing are the customs of the Japanese Army. More than ten million victims have suffered from Japanese misconduct during these six years. When the Japanese entered Nanking, they cut off the nipples of the women after they had raped them. They enjoy such acts as amusement. The women who died from Japanese mistreatment are more than 100,000 since the beginning of the war. The bodies of civilians killed by the Japanese numbered 270,000. The Japanese have beaten all records for barbarism in human history.

The Japanese Air Force is now weakening every day. Their fleet seeks to avoid battles so as to escape destruction. As a con-

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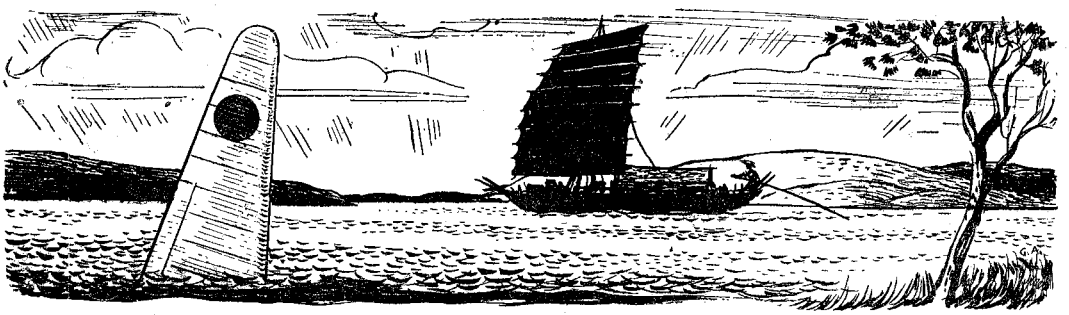
sequence, they have lost their offensive power in the Pacific Ocean. They are trying to strengthen themselves by utilizing the resources of the occupied territory before the collapse of the German Army in preparation for the future offensive of the United Nations. By this means, they hope to be able to resist the attack of the United Nations in the South Pacific. This seems to be a sound strategy. The only weak point the enemy has is the Chinese front.

Preparing to face the eventual attack of the United Nations from the Chinese front, the Japanese, in January of this year, started a new military campaign in the Yangtze Valley with the purpose of establishing a line of communications between the Tungting Lake and Ichang. They expect to use Ichang as a military base from which to attack Chungking. In May, they concentrated seven divisions to attack the Chinese in this section of the Yangtze Valley with the aim of destroying all the Chinese strongholds on the way to Chungking. The Chinese were acquainted with this Japanese strategy. They systematically destroyed all the communication lines between this section of the Yangtze and Chungking in order to render military operations by the enemy extremely difficult. New strongholds were built to resist the Japanese drive. When the Japanese managed to advance a little, they were soon stopped by the lack of communications. At this very moment, the Chinese counterattacked both from the front and from the flanks. In the rear, all way of retreat was blocked. The appearance of the American Air Force in the sky of the battlefield was totally unexpected by the enemy. The Chinese Army, helped by the American Air Force, violently attacked, with the result that thirty thousand Japanese were killed or wounded.

III

WHAT about the future of our war? China has been fighting desperately for six long years. All the resources she possesses have been employed in the war. All the arms and munitions she had have been used or have become old. If China employed the strategy of exchanging space for time, and so on, it was because she could do nothing else, but this strategy can be used only for defense. Obviously, it cannot be used for offensive purposes. And it is imperative to attack if the war is to be won. The Japanese have systematically fortified the territory they have occupied. This makes our offensive a difficult task. In order to destroy the enemy's strongholds, we need heavy artillery, bombers, etc. The strategy of the enemy for the time being seems to be to utilize fully the strength of his army and to avoid exhausting naval battles. Thus, the Japanese will continue to employ their naval and air forces to help their army in the defense of the southern Pacific islands of Malaya, Thailand, Burma, and of the Chinese Continent, as long as they can. In my opinion, the United Nations should attack the Japanese before they can consolidate their positions. The offensive against them should be conducted on the Chinese continent in order to destroy the Japanese airplane and shipping industries. The United Nations should supply the Chinese Army with heavy arms so that it can destroy the enemy's strongholds in China. This would shorten an already long war and eliminate the necessity for greater sacrifice.



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THE CATHOLIC CHURCH AND FASCISM

by
Harry W. Flannery

THE Free World Association seeks "democratic victory and world organization." One of the main means toward a free world is truth. One of the gravest obstacles toward a free world is bigoted prejudice.

It may be that Dr. Gaetano Salvemini performs a service when he makes charges against the Pope and the Catholic bishops of Italy and the United States. Such allegations are a service when they lead to a revelation of the truth. Otherwise, we may lose our free world in bitter dissension that divides instead of uniting us.

In declaring that some of the Catholic clergy of Italy supported the former fascist leader, Benito Mussolini, the doctor speaks from personal knowledge. There always will be priests and laymen in the Catholic church who do not agree on political, economic, and other subjects. However, when Prof. Salvemini says the Popes have favored fascism and feared the defeat of fascist Italy because there would be "a violent reaction against that section of the Catholic clergy that has committed itself too blatantly to fascist policies," he demonstrates that his prejudices affect his reasoning. When he says the Catholic hierarchy in the United States is influencing the United States State Department to favor fascism in Spain, France, Italy, and other countries, because of "its electoral strength in the United States," his vision is again distorted.

The last charges were made gratuitously and may be denied in the same manner. I am certain that any member of our State Department would repudiate Dr. Salvemini's indictment with all the indignation it deserves. The accusation is based on the supposition that the Catholic citizens of this country vote as a unit and because of their numbers are able to enforce their will. I need only cite my own state of California as an example of the fact that Catholics are not even members of the same party. And I need only call attention to the defeat of Al Smith, a Catholic, as a candidate for President, to prove that Catholics are not a political unit and thus able to influence an election. In no country are the Catholic people united politically, and I hope they never will be.

It is only when politics involve morals that the Catholic church, as such, takes any stand on them, and even then, unfortunately, Catholic clergy and laymen do not present a solid front. All the recent supreme pontiffs of the Catholic church have spoken for a world organization such as FREE WORLD seeks. This was true in World War I when Benedict XV tried to lead the world toward a League of Nations. It is true in this war, as Popes Pius XI and Pius XII outlined requisites of a world order that strikingly parallels the Atlantic Charter and the pronouncements on the Four Freedoms and other objectives by our State Department. If the Catholics of the world were to unite in an effort to see that the United States and the other members of the United Nations achieved these ends, FREE WORLD would have an important impetus toward its goals. Regrettably, how-

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ever, that is not the case. The Catholics of the world have noted the papal encyclicals on the means of assuring a just and lasting peace, but most of them continue lax and many even argue against the thesis. That is because Catholics are not united in their political aims either in a nation or in the world.

It is distressing that this is true in the case of a free world and when political philosophies such as fascism and nazism arise and threaten the very existence of Catholics and every other religious group. Some Catholic ecclesiastics in Italy not only favored fascism but expressed extravagant and sacrilegious praise of Mussolini. Dr. Salvemini can quote many such instances, and so can I. Dr. D. A. Binchy, in his "Church and State in Fascist Italy," asserts that the overwhelming majority of the priests in Italy resisted fascist pressure and held their peace. "There is a considerable number of priests in Italy whose opposition to fascism has brought them destitution and imprisonment," he writes. "The number of priests in *confino* or under *ammonizione* cannot be estimated, for both Church and State prefer to remain silent on the point."

We can consider Dr. Binchy an authority because he is a conscientious scholar seeking truth through exhaustive and thorough study, and not given to generalization on a few instances. His book is the result of four years of research and two years of writing. It has been said that he suffers from "an excessive scrupulosity which forbade him to formulate conclusions until he had consulted every available book and article that might offer fresh evidence." Other writers might well follow this method to advantage.

When Mussolini first seized power in Italy, he did not define the kind of government he planned because he did not then know. He had no definitely formulated political philosophy. Mussolini's first moves were based on fierce nationalism and a love of violence and adventure. "They ask me for programs," he said, "but there already are too many. It is not programs we are lacking for the salvation of Italy, but men and will-power."

During the early years of Mussolini's dominance in Italy, many persons all over the world praised him. They spoke of his making the trains run on time, partly in jest, and partly in approval. They noted his building of highways, rail lines, schools, and other public buildings; his clearing of swamps. At that time, Mussolini had many supporters despite his violence and that of his followers. Some even considered he was setting up a new kind of democracy, the corporate state, in which the citizens would be represented according to their occupations rather than on the basis of residence. The Pope did not take a stand on fascism at that time, as it had not yet evolved a philosophy. But that was gradually taking form; in speeches, letters, and articles, Mussolini was presenting his ideas of the state, following the doctrine of Giovanni Gentile, his Minister of Education, and himself a follower of Hegel.

During this formative period, some clear-minded persons, including Pope Pius XI, recognized the dangers of fascism. As far back as 1924, one of the writers for the semi-official Vatican paper, *Civilta Cattolica,* discussed the theory behind dictatorship and attacked it. This article was previewed by Pius XI and thus had his approval. The reaction in the Palazzo Venezia was so violent that the priest-author first spent a month at Chieri near Turin and then had to leave the country. Many of the clergy were, however, misled by the visible achievements of Mussolini and did not recognize the profoundly dangerous ideas for which he stood. Of some of these priests, Pius said: "They have lost their heads and could not wear their crosses anyway." Now and then also, it is true, the Pope himself was confused and on a few occasions he actually commended some aspects of fascism.

Basically, according to Mussolini himself, fascism emphasizes the rights of the state over those of the individual. "Anti-individualistic, the fascist conception of life stresses the importance of the state and accepts the individual only insofar as his interests coincide with those of the state," says Mussolini. "The fascist conception of the state is all-embracing; outside of it no human or spiritual values can exist, much less have any worth. Thus understood, fascism is totalitarianism. . . . It permeates the will no less than the intellect."

Nazism postulates the same doctrine.

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"The individual has no rights apart from his function as part of the state," says Hitler. In fascism, the individual exists for the state, and not the state for the individual. Following this argument, no individual has any God-given rights, and he has no right even to life if he cannot or does not serve the state. Thus it may be declared the state has the right to kill any man who refuses to serve the state, or who cannot serve the state because he is incurably ill, insane, crippled, or aged.

On this basic principle, the fascist state is at conflict with both democracy and Christianity. No religion that insists on the rights of men to life and liberty can be permitted to continue within a fascist state. It is significant that fascist political philosophy is directly opposed to the concept of democracy stated in our Declaration of Independence.

Democracy stresses the God-given rights of man and proclaims that the state is created for the individual to secure these rights. Christianity also stresses the supremacy of the individual, his equality and rights. It denies that the state has the right to prosecute any man because of race, color, or creed, and denies that the state has the right to take the life of any man merely because he is ill in mind or body, or aged.

II

In building his fascist state, Mussolini, despite the inevitable conclusions of his political philosophy, at first appeared to be friendly to the Catholic church. He knew that he could not take any other course in Catholic Italy. It was for this reason that he signed the Lateran treaties. At the same time, in seeking the natural ends of fascism, Mussolini attempted gradually to weaken the influence of the Church upon the people. He began by trying to revise the educational system and to remove youth organizations from the influence of the Church.

At the same time that Mussolini was formulating his political philosophy, the Pope was commenting on the trend, sometimes in encyclicals, and other times in letters and in public audiences. The controversy reached a climax when Mussolini attacked education and the youth organizations. It again became notable when Italy attacked Ethiopia, when World War II began, and when Italy entered the war. Among the statements by Pope Pius XI were the following:

> Objective totalitarianism is a manifest absurdity in theory and would be a monstrosity in practice. . . . The totalitarian state is a usurpation of the rights of the individual.
>
> It would be absurd and unnatural that the state should absorb, swallow, or annihilate the individual and the family. . . .
>
> A party and a regime based on an ideology which clearly resolves itself into a pagan worship of the state, a statolatory. . . . Whoever detaches the race or the nation or the state or the form of the state or the government from the temporal scale and raises them to be the supreme model, deifying them with idolatrous worship, falsifies the divinely instituted order of things.

In one of the most direct attacks made by Pius XI on the policies of fascism the Pope spoke of "the campaign of false and unjust accusations" against the young people in "Catholic Action." He referred to "all the inventions, falsehoods, and real calumnies diffused by the hostile press of the party, which is the only press that is free to say and to dare to say anything, and is often ordered, or almost ordered, what it may say."

On the invasion of Ethiopia, Pius quoted Psalm 67: "Scatter Thou the nations that delight in wars; ambassadors shall come out of Egypt; Ethiopia shall soon stretch out her hands to God."

In May, 1938, Pius XI asked the heads of all Catholic colleges and universities to preach against eight false dogmas of fascism, the eighth of which is that: "Individuals exist only for the state and on account of the state; whatever rights may pertain to them are derived solely from concessions of the state."

On October 20, 1939, after World War II had begun, Pius XII uttered this opinion on totalitarianism:

> The idea which credits the state with unlimited authority is not simply an error harmful to the internal life of nations, to their prosperity, and to larger and well-ordered increase in their well-being, but likewise it injures the relations between peoples, for it breaks the unity of supranational society, robs the law of nations of

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its foundation and vigor, leads to violations of others' rights and impedes agreement and peaceful intercourse. . . . Whoever considers the state to be the end toward which all is directed, to which all must bow, is of necessity an enemy of all true and lasting progress among nations.

On Easter Sunday, after the Good Friday invasion of Albania, he asked: "How can there be peace when solemnly sanctioned treaties and the plighted word have lost that security and value which are the indispensable bases of reciprocal trust and without which material and moral disarmament become more difficult with each passing day?"

When the Nazis invaded Luxembourg, the Netherlands, and Belgium, the Pope sent telegrams of protest to the nazi Government. On countless occasions, Pius XII attacked nazism, with some of these statements also indicting fascism. I have purposely omitted these, because I am confining my comments in this article to fascism in Italy, and not in Germany or any other country. On June 14, 1943, to the Italian workers Pius XII issued a "warning against letting oneself be deluded by the mirage of specious and fatuous theories and visions of future well-being. . . . Such friends of the people you have already heard in the public streets, in clubs, in congresses. You recognize their promises on handbills. You hear them in their songs and anthems. . . . An empty word and a show incapable of realization in fact, you see that the working class remains bound, yoked, and tied to state capitalism, which restrains and subjects all, not only the family, but even the conscience. . . . Renunciations imposed on each one which injure the rights of the human person, freedom in the ruling of the family, in the exercise of one's profession, in the conditions of citizenship, and especially in the practice of religion and even in the realm of conscience."

In June, 1943, after fascist stories that the Vatican was planning peace, the Vatican Radio declared: "The Holy Father's greatest longing is for peace, it is true, but not for peace at any price." After Axis claims that the Pope had protested the bombing of Rome to the United States Government, Vatican Radio boldly denied the charge.

III

DURING these years, there were many conflicts in action as well as in words. From 1921 to 1925, Carlo Scorza, party secretary, terrorized the Catholic clergy in the province of Lucca, and in 1930, mobilized fascist youth against the Church. (As the conflict became more violent within this last year, Scorza was returned as party secretary, and continued until he, along with the other Fascists, was ousted by Badoglio.) Before *Osservatore Romano,* the Vatican newspaper, was banned in Italy because the people were reading it to learn the truth, newsboys who cried: "The full text of the Pope's letter," referring to the educational controversy, were arrested. When the paper was suppressed, two priests who were found reading it were forced to eat the issue bit by bit, aided by a dose of castor oil. One died four hours later, and the other after two days in a hospital.

The position of the Church in such matters as politics is not understood by many persons because they are not acquainted with the statements of the pontiffs, and also because the Church seeks to serve all men, regardless of their race or nationality, and speaks officially only on matters of faith and morals. One of the best non-Catholic explanations of the position of the Vatican in the war is given in "Balcony Empire," the book by Reynolds and Eleanor Packard, who represented the United Press in Rome until the United States entered the war. They wrote:

Italy had the Vatican geographically stuffed into its boot. Only thirteen acres in area, the Vatican, situated near the center of Rome, had neither ingress nor egress except through Italian territory. Considering these conditions, the resistance that this miniature State made against Axis pressure was all the more remarkable. People abroad often did not appreciate the delicate position that the Pope was in, nor did they understand that fine nuance separating the spiritual from the political. . . . The most courageous stand the Pope made against Rome-Berlin pressure occurred in July, 1941, when Il Duce suggested that the Vatican come out for the Axis war on the Soviets as a "holy crusade against atheism." The Pope firmly replied that the Vatican attitude toward Russia concerned purely

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ecclesiastical and spiritual matters and that it was therefore impossible for the Holy See to make any pronouncement or commit any act which might be construed as strengthening any political group.

Our experiences in the invasion of Sicily, which is a part of Italy, should be the first answer in fact to the charge that the Pope favors fascism and fears the defeat of fascist Italy because there would be "a violent reaction against that section of the Catholic clergy that has committed itself too blatantly to fascist policies." Since the invasion, fascists have been ousted from office, Italian priests have been named temporary officials in many parts of Sicily, and Italian priests generally in Sicily have complied with requests by United States Army civil affairs officers that they explain to their congregations the decrees promulgated by the Allied Military Government of Occupied Territory. Recently, too, Lieutenant General George S. Patton, Jr., commanding United States forces in Sicily, received from Luigi Cardinal Lavitrino, archbishop of Palermo, an offer of co-operation by the Catholic church and the people in occupied territory.

I say now, without fear of contradiction in experience, that the Allies, as they go into Italy and into the rest of the Continent of Europe, will find that they will receive no more helpful co-operation from anyone than from the prelates of the Catholic church. Within Germany, the Netherlands, and other countries, they have been the ones who dared to continue the battle against fascism and nazism, despite the threat against their security and their lives. Many who have undergone imprisonment and death have been modern martyrs. Others, who did not think deeply, have erred, but there will always be such as long as priests are human beings. For the most part, however, my argument will be proved in experience.

Fascism in Italy is doomed. Fascism in the form it has taken in Germany and Japan will soon follow. As these countries are opened once more to the light of truth, we shall learn more of the fight the Church has made against fascism. In the days to come, men of vision will try to travel the road to a just and lasting peace. Let us not place obstacles upon that road through bigotry. Let us rather move together with understanding and truth.

Seeking for Truth

by

Gaetano Salvemini

Reply to Mr. Flannery

MR. FLANNERY is of the opinion that "one of the main means toward a free world is truth." I fully agree with him. But does he offer us truth in his article?

1. One of my contentions was that "many bishops, archbishops, and cardinals in Italy . . . have become notorious for their servile connivance with the fascist dictatorship."

Mr. Flannery finds it convenient to attribute to me quite a different statement, namely, that "some of the Catholic clergy in Italy *supported* . . . Benito Mussolini." By changing the child in the cradle, he puts himself in the position of agreeing generously with me that it is true that "some Catholic ecclesiastics in Italy not only favored fascism but expressed extravagant and sacrilegious praise of Mussolini"; but he can also add that in his "Church and State in Fascist Italy," Dr. D. A. Binchy asserts that the overwhelming majority of the priests in Italy resisted fascist pressure and held their peace. "There is a considerable number of priests in Italy whose opposition to fascism has brought them destitution and imprisonment." But I spoke of "bishops, archbishops, and cardinals."

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I feel no difficulty in admitting—nay, I am glad to admit—that in Italy a large section of the "lower clergy" never expressed extravagant and sacrilegious praise of Mussolini. Many of them "held their peace"; not a few "resisted fascist pressure," which is something more than holding their peace; some were manhandled, imprisoned, or interned on penal islands; to my knowledge at least two of them were murdered. How Dr. Binchy has reached the conclusion that "the overwhelming majority" of the priests in Italy behaved as Dr. Binchy would have liked them to behave, nobody knows. A census of the sixty thousand priests and monks in Italy, as far as their attitude toward Mussolini was concerned, has never been taken. I am afraid that that "overwhelming majority" springs from wishful thinking, and cannot be substantiated by definite evidence. But this is not the point. We have to discuss "bishops, archbishops, and cardinals." What about them?

If Mr. Flannery wants evidence to substantiate my statements that "bishops, archbishops, and cardinals" became notorious for their servile connivance with Mussolini's policies, he has only to read Dr. Binchy's book (677ff.) and he will learn that "in the domain of fascist foreign policy the uncritical support of *certain highly placed* Italian ecclesiastics has attracted most attention and wrought most harm." During the Ethiopian War—one of the most shameless crimes committed in modern history—"many members of the hierarchy" surrendered their episcopal rings; "many prelates spoke from Fascist platforms in support of the Fascist War; . . . perhaps the most nauseating feature of the whole oratorical campaign was the attempt to represent this cowardly aggression against the weak as a just, nay even a holy war; a twentieth-century crusade by the forces of Christian civilization." Dr. Binchy particularly blames the Bishops of Civita-Castellana, Nocera Umbria, and San Miniato, and the Cardinal Archbishop of Milan. If Mr. Flannery wants further information, he may learn from an article I published in the review, *Christendom,* of Chicago (Winter, 1937) that no less than seven cardinals, twenty-nine archbishops, and sixty-one bishops prostituted themselves before Mussolini, and the list is far from complete, owing to the fact that I was in position to survey no more than three Italian daily papers and one anti-fascist weekly published at that time in Paris.

If Mr. Flannery wants information about the behavior of bishops, archbishops, and cardinals in Italy during the Spanish War, I am prepared to meet his desire, unless he shares the opinion of the Archbishop of Gorizia, a city in Northern Italy, that "in Red Spain all the worst elements of the sinister democratic regimes have united to a final effort against the granite mass of Christian civilization," and therefore thinks that those Italian prelates who supported Mussolini and Hitler in the Spanish affair were right and there is no need to conceal their glory.

I might add evidence to show that not only in the domain of foreign policy but also in that of domestic policy, a large number of "bishops, archbishops, and cardinals" in Italy gave a support which Dr. Binchy defines as "uncritical," and I should define as "criminal." But I hope that Mr. Flannery's thirst for truth has been assuaged on this point. Let us hope that from now onward he will avoid such vague ways of speaking as "certain highly placed ecclesiastics," "some of the Catholic clergy," "some Catholic ecclesiastics," and will bluntly speak of "*too many* bishops, archbishops, and cardinals."

2. Mr. Flannery admits that "during the early years of Mussolini's dominance in Italy, many persons all over the world praised him."

In his eagerness for truth, Mr. Flannery ought to have stated clearly that among those "many persons," there were "many bishops, archbishops, and cardinals" all over the world. For instance, in the United States, in 1924, Cardinal O'Connell, Archbishop of Boston, discovered that "Italy was in the process of undergoing a marvelous transformation since Benito Mussolini had seized the reins of the government. . . . I have never in my life witnessed a change so surprising. I see perfect order, cleanliness, work, industrial development." In 1925, the Archbishop of Chicago, Cardinal Mundelein, announced that "Mussolini is a great big man—the man of the times," and he accepted a high decoration from "the man of the times." In 1926, in Philadelphia, at the inauguration of an Italian parochial

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school under the auspices of the local Fascio and the Fascist League of North America, speeches "very enthusiastically applauded, exalting religion and Fascist Italy" were given by Cardinal Daugherty, Archbishop of Philadelphia, the Italian Vice-Consul, and a priest, Rev. Tonini, "who, in a brilliant discourse, referred to the admirable work of the Duce and the Fascist Government, putting special emphasis on the wise work of Fascism in strengthening and revitalizing religious sentiment." Again in 1926, Cardinal O'Connell defined the Duce as "a genius in the field of government, given to Italy by God to help the nation continue her rapid ascent toward the most glorious destiny." In the fall of 1934, he persisted in seeing in Mussolini "the miracle man." According to him, Mussolini had shown "great forbearance and magnanimity" after King Alexander of Serbia had been assassinated in Marseilles, as if King Alexander had not been assassinated by agents who enjoyed the protection of Mussolini. The Archbishop of New York, Cardinal Hayes, accepted from Mussolini four or five decorations, one higher than the other. In 1929, the Bishop of Cleveland took part in the fascist celebration of the Birthday of Fascism and spoke "exalting Mussolini, the Man of Destiny."

If Mr. Flannery needs a larger dose of truth, I shall do my best to help him. For the time being, I will confine myself to stating that if anyone were to gather together all the sermons, all the articles and essays of Catholic priests and monks, and all the effusions of the Jesuits of *America* and of the minor organs of Catholic thought in this country, one would have the most impressive and astounding anthology of fascist glorification. Describing this flood of dirt as due to "many persons" without defining those persons is neither serving truth nor leading "toward a free world."

Mr. Flannery should also have made it clear that those "early years" during which those "many persons" praised Mussolini lasted until May, 1939, when the latter announced his alliance with Hitler, and that "many persons" only stopped praising Mussolini in June, 1940, when he declared war on France and Britain, and most of those "many persons," when they ceased praising Mussolini, abstained from blaming him but, as Dr. Binchy would say, "held their peace." They did not yet know how matters would turn out.

Mr. Flannery endeavors to extenuate the moral responsibility of those "many persons" by stating: "When Mussolini first seized power in Italy, he did not define the kind of government he planned because he did not then know. . . . They noted his [Mussolini's] building of highways, rail lines, schools and other public buildings; his clearing of swamps."

People who did not claim to be the custodians of Christian moral principles might have been excused for thinking only in terms of highways, railway lines, and swamps. But "bishops, archbishops, and cardinals," who claimed a monopoly on the teaching of Christian moral principles, should have been concerned with something more important to the souls of their people and to their own souls. This, even if Italy had never had highways, railway lines, or schools, or had never reclaimed any swamps before Mussolini, which was not the case.

As for Mussolini's plans, Mr. Flannery himself lets it slip that "in speeches, letters, and articles, Mussolini was presenting his ideas of the state, following the doctrine of Giovanni Gentile, his Minister of Education, and himself a follower of Hegel. . . . Mussolini's first moves were based on fierce nationalism and a love of violence and adventure." He might have added that Don Sturzo, the Secretary-General of the Catholic People's Party in Italy, realized as early as 1921 the incompatibility between the moral teachings of Jesus Christ and the basic tenets of fascism—and most of the rank and file of his party agreed with him, and this is why they were ruthlessly crushed by fascist violence between 1922 and 1926, while so many "bishops, archbishops, and cardinals," those whom Mr. Flannery conceals under the fig leaf of "many persons," were, in Italy and outside Italy, lauding Mussolini to the skies.

3. In my article, I stated that "the Vatican has tied itself up in Italy with the fascist regime."

Mr. Flannery cannot make up his mind to admit this plain truth. He writes: "During this formative period, some clear-minded persons, including Pope Pius XI,

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recognized the dangers of fascism. As far back as 1924, one of the writers for the semi-official Vatican paper, *Civiltà Catolica,* discussed the theory behind dictatorship and attacked it." Mr. Flannery should not ignore the fact that attacking "the theory" of fascism did not prevent Pius XI from tying himself up with the fascist regime.

When dealing with Vatican policies, one must always keep in mind that Catholic doctors distinguish between the "thesis" and the "hypothesis" of a situation. The "thesis" is the truth, the right, the good, and the Church must affirm it. The "hypothesis" is that lesser evil which the Church has to endeavor to squeeze from this imperfect world. Ignoring "hypotheses" and insisting only on "theses" is like reciting the Ten Commandments, violating them one by one, and then demanding that judgment be passed on the recitation and not on the violations. Mr. Flannery has some suspicion that some "hypothesis" has occurred some time, somewhere. Therefore, he writes in his cryptic style: "Now and then also, it is true, the Pope himself was confused and on a few occasions he actually commended some aspects of fascism."

I cannot take up a whole issue of FREE WORLD to survey those *"few* occasions" on which Pius XI "commended *some* aspects of fascism." Mr. Flannery should be content with a *few* instances: In January, 1923, Mussolini and Cardinal Gasparri, Pius XI's Secretary of State, had a secret interview in the house of one of the directors of the Bank of Rome, Count Santucci. They agreed to solve the Roman Question, and in addition Mussolini pledged himself to rescue from bankruptcy, at the expense of the Italian taxpayer, the Bank of Rome to which many Catholic institutions and prelates of the Vatican had entrusted their money. A few weeks earlier, during the night of December 17-18, 1922, Black Shirts in Turin had used their revolvers at will, and had burned down private houses and the premises of trade unions, co-operative societies, and political organizations. The fascist Chief of Turin had publicly boasted that "out of a list of three hundred anti-fascists, twenty-four were selected to be done away with by the best fascist squads." The bodies of only fourteen of the victims had been found. The Chief had said: "The river Po will deliver the remaining bodies, if it chooses, unless they are found in ditches and ravines around Turin, except two who escaped." Five days after the Turin massacre, on December 25, the King granted an amnesty to those guilty of "political" crimes – even murder – on condition that these had been committed "for a national purpose," that is, in the service of fascism. On January 1, 1923, Signor De Vecchi, then Under-Secretary in Mussolini's Cabinet (who in 1929 was accepted by Pius XI as Italy's ambasador to the Vatican), had said in Turin: "Yes, the reaction of a few days ago was necessary; and though I was not here, I accept the responsibility for all that happened." At the same time, hundreds of Catholics, among them numerous priests, were manhandled all over Italy for remaining loyal to the People's Party.

Did Mussolini and Pius XI's Secretary of State also agree that this state of barbaric violence must come to an end, if friendly relations between the Vatican and the Fascist Government were to be made possible? Not at all. In his book, *"Un anno di dominazione fascista,"* published in 1924, Giacomo Matteotti, who was to be murdered in June of that year, enumerated more than two thousand cases of murders, more or less serious injuries, clubbings, castor oil purges, looting of private homes and of the headquarters of organizations, and the burning of newspaper printing presses and premises, which had been perpetrated from November, 1922 to October, 1923. The years, 1925 and 1926, were filled with terror in Italy. Catholics suffered from it no less than Liberals, Socialists, and Communists. But Pius XI and his Secretary of State were concerned only with not defiling the purity of Catholic doctrine (thesis), with rescuing the Bank of Rome from bankruptcy, and with making ready to swallow ninety million gold fascist dollars (hypotheses) through the solution of the Roman Question (thesis). They were not interested in what was happening elsewhere. They were looking the other way.

Therefore, on October 31, 1926, Cardinal Merry del Val, Pontifical Legate to the celebrations in Assisi in honor of St. Francis, gave out the following statement: "My thanks also go to him who holds in his hands the reins of the Government of Italy,

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who with a clear insight into reality has wished, and wishes the religion to be respected, honored, practiced. Visibly protected by God, he has wisely improved the fortunes of the nation, increasing its prestige throughout the world."

In December, 1926, the Pope himself came out into the open and announced that Mussolini was "the man sent by Providence." At the same time, he complained that the "Catholic Action" was the butt of fascist violence. While the Fascists were attacking the leaders and members of the People's Party, who did not depend on the Vatican and were anti-Fascist, Piux XI was urging the latter to join the "Catholic Action" which was under the control of the Vatican and was pledged to abstain from anti-fascist activities. The Fascists were unable to distinguish between Catholics who were members of the "Catholic Action" and Catholics who were members of the People's Party, and their bludgeons and revolvers did not discriminate. Pius XI's protest was made on account of the "Catholic Action" which was non-political and, therefore, was worthy of his protection. This was the thesis. Paying homage to the "man sent by Providence" and ignoring the misfortunes of the People's Party were the hypotheses.

A universal custom in the Catholic Church ordains that religious education shall be imparted by the clergy to the children in their mother tongue. On August 31, 1926, the fascist authorities prescribed the use of Italian in religious as well as in secular instruction for the Germans of South Tyrol, and in July, 1927, this measure was extended to the Slavs of Venetia Giulia. The German and Slav Catholics waited for Pius XI to raise his voice in censure or protest. Pius XI never spoke. The immediate predecessor of Pius XI, Benedict XV, in 1921, had publicly deplored the outrages to which the Fascists had subjected the Slavs of Istria. But Benedict XV was another man. This is one of the most deplorable phases of Pius XI's pontificate. If the Editorial Board of FREE WORLD allowed me the needed space, I might go on, and on, about Pius XI's hypotheses.

4. Mr. Flannery could not resist quoting from Pius XI's encyclical letter *Non abbiamo bisogno* of July, 1931, the passages in which the Catholic doctrine is opposed to the fascist doctrine of the totalitarian state. But, he takes good care not to mention the fact that the encyclical letter, while asserting in absolute terms the Catholic thesis, did not fail to leave all doors open to all possible hypotheses. This is what one reads if one goes to the text of that document:

> We have already said that we preserve and shall preserve both the memory of and perennial gratitude for what has been done in Italy for the benefit of the religion, even though the benefit for the party and the regime was not less and perhaps greater.... We have always refrained from formal and explicit condemnations, nay, we have come to the point of believing possible and favoring compromises which seemed inadmissible to others. . . . *We have not meant to condemn the party and the regime as such.* We have intended to point out and condemn what in their program and activities we have noticed to be at variance with the Catholic doctrine and practice.

In the same document, while stating that the fascist oath of loyalty was not permitted to a Catholic (thesis), Pius XI advised the Catholic to take the oath "before God and his own conscience" but to add to it the reservation "excepting the laws of God and of the Church," that is, to deceive the authorities before whom the oath was taken. This was the hypothesis.

Let us add for Mr. Flannery's benefit that a royal decree of August 26, 1931, summoned all university professors to sign an oath by which they swore to "form active and valiant citizens devoted to the country and to the Fascist regime." Those anti-fascist professors who, because of their moral integrity, were loved by the student bodies, were put in a tragic situation; they had either to forfeit self-respect and prestige or to be reduced to poverty. Pius XI might at least have kept his peace, as Dr. Binchy would say. But on December 4, 1931, the *Osservatore Romano* published an official communiqué, the author of which pretended to believe that in the formula of the oath the words "Fascist regime" meant not "Fascist regime" but "government of the State," a state which might also have been non-fascist; he pretended also not to understand that the formula pledged the

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teachers to teach that fascist doctrine which, according to the thesis, was incompatible with Catholic doctrine, and he announced the hypothesis that the Catholic teachers might take the oath "with a reservation concerning the right of God and the Church." A Catholic scholar, the well-known historian De Sanctis, by refusing to take the oath, imparted to the Pope a badly needed lesson in self-respect and moral integrity.

5. I almost suffered a stroke when Mr. Flannery informed me that the controversy between Pope Piux XI and Mussolini "became notable when Italy attacked Ethiopia." Where does Mr. Flannery draw that "truth"?

To be sure, after the Wal Wal incident in East Africa, which ushered in the Italo-Ethiopian dispute, Pius XI, on December 24, 1934, "invoked peace, blessed peace, prayed for peace." This was the thesis. Then came the hypothesis. In the course of 1935, cardinals, archbishops, bishops, and diocesan conferences, local eucharistic congresses, "Catholic Action" assemblies, and Catholic students' meetings, multiplied their declarations of loyalty to Mussolini. They did not explicitly clamor for war; but since Mussolini was clamoring for war, and they chose just that moment to clamor for Mussolini, the implication of their enthusiasm was obvious.

When the war campaign in Italy was reaching its highest pitch, Pius XI, in person, on August 27, 1935, again stated the thesis by saying that "the mere thought of war made him shudder." But soon the hypothesis came in. He stated that outside Italy "there was talk of a war of aggression," but "this was a supposition on which he did not even dwell with his thoughts." (A war of aggression would have been truly an unjust war.) "On the other hand, it was said in Italy that the war would be a just war because it would be a war in self-defense, a war necessary for the expansion of a daily increasing population." If this were true, "such a war would justify itself." The upshot of his reflections was embodied in the following terms: "If this need for expansion exists, and if there exists also the need of defending the security of the frontiers, we cannot but hope that a solution of all difficulties may be arrived at by other means than war." Thus the alleged right of self-defense and need for expansion became facts which had to be taken into account, but met by other means than war. No wonder, therefore, if on September 5, 1935, the National Eucharistic Congress held at Teramo, and attended by nineteen archbishops, and fifty-seven bishops, acclaimed Mussolini in a message in which "Catholic Italy" prayed for the "ever-increasing greatness of the beloved fatherland rendered more compact and stronger by your government." On that same day, the Council of the League of Nations was meeting in Geneva to discuss the Italo-Ethiopian dispute. Two days later, on September 7, Pius XI, in person, once again announced that he was praying for peace (thesis), but "together with peace we desire that the hopes, rights, and needs of this great and good people, our people, may be recognized, satisfied, and assured (hypothesis) with justice and peace." Mussolini also, on the following morning, announced that "the Italian people desired peace on condition that it be accompanied by justice," and on October 3, 1935, started the war.

Pius XI had nothing to say on this occasion. He kept his peace. Instead, the Jesuit Father, Rev. Antonio Messineo, in February, 1936, began to flood the *Civiltà Catolica* with a treatise purporting to show that just as a man who is in extreme need or quasi-extreme need, is entitled by nature to seize other people's goods, so a nation which needs living space is entitled to colonial expansion within the limits required by necessity. Rev. Messineo pretended to thrash out the subject in abstract terms, in a vacuum, with no reference to contemporary events. But he knew quite well that by spreading his ideas *at that particular moment and in a review whose editor was appointed by the Pope,* he was carrying water to Mussolini's mill. And Pius XI also knew it. The Jesuit Fathers of the *Civiltà Catolica* had taken quite a different attitude toward the Italo-Ethiopian war of 1895-96. At that time, the *Civiltà Catolica* had sharply criticized Italian territorial ambitions and aggressive policies toward Ethiopia. At that time, nobody expected any Italian Government to hand ninety million gold dollars to the Pope.

On May 12, 1936, after Badoglio had

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made use of poison gas to destroy the Ethiopian armies and had entered Addis Ababa, Pius XI did not confine himself to rejoicing over the end of the war, but rejoiced over the "triumphal gladness of a whole good and great people for a peace which it trusts will be a valid factor and prelude to true peace in Europe and in the world." It would be unfair to make the Italian people responsible for the use of poison gas; the Italian people had no say either in war or in peace. But the word "good" used after the triumph of poison gas was a challenge to the moral conscience of the world by an authority who claimed to be the custodian of Christian moral doctrine in this world. Even Dr. Binchy had to admit that Pius XI made a terrible slip.

Mr. Flannery is courageous enough in his search for truth to state that the clash between Vatican policies and fascist policies became conspicuous also "when World War II began and when Italy entered the war." I dealt with this matter in an article, *The Pope and Fascism,* published in *The New Republic* of March 8, 1943, which has given rise to a flood of personal vituperation by Catholics against its author, but not one of the facts stated in it has been disputed. Therefore, I beg Mr. Flannery to take into account that article of mine. In his eagerness for truth, he will either disprove my statements (without twisting them) or revise his own opinion.

6. I stated in my article that "the American episcopate" or "the Catholic hierarchy in America is making use of its electoral strength in the United States to rescue the fascist regime in Italy from disaster." And I explained that "The Catholics can tip the scale of American elections, especially in the State of New York, whose electoral vote may determine the Presidential election."

Mr. Flannery is persuaded that my vision "is distorted," that my charges "were made gratuitously and may be denied in the same manner," and is "certain that any member of our State Department will repudiate Dr. Salvemini's indictment with all the indignation it deserves."

Mr. Flannery can gratuitously affirm or deny anything he likes. The fact is that on November 20, 1942, the Rev. John T. Ellis, Professor of History at the Catholic University in Washington, taught us that "we must remember that the Government of Mussolini is still the lawfully constituted authority in Italy." He added: "Fortunately the delicate issues of that problem are in the hands of men such as Secretary Hull and Under-Secretary Sumner Welles and their able collaborators." Note that Rev. Ellis' article was circulated by the National Catholic Welfare Conference through its three hundred and fifty diocesan weeklies. Is one suffering from "distorted vision" when one guesses that that article reflected the views of the American Catholic hierarchy? And was not the Vatican trying to rescue what could be rescued from the fascist breakdown when "a source in Washington close to Monsignor Spellman" gave out through the *New York Times,* (May 12, 1943) the news that "the Vatican is deeply concerned with the social upheavals that, in the peninsula, are likely to be the outcome of military defeat."

Will the Vatican do any other thing than rescue what can be saved from the fascist shipwreck if it succeeds in having the "present" prefects regarded as no longer "active party supporters" and kept in power under the orders of an Allied Commission sitting in Rome? (See the plan elaborated in a special message from Pius XII to Archbishop Francis J. Spellman in the *New York Times,* May 19, 1943.) And if this is the policy of the Vatican, would the Catholic episcopate not support it in the United States? And if the Catholic episcopate does so, will it not make use of its electoral influence to help the Vatican to reach its aims?

Mr. Flannery believes that he can do away with these questions only by stating that "in no country are the Catholic people united politically." Mr. Flannery again finds it comfortable to speak of "Catholic people" while I am speaking of "Catholic episcopate." To be sure, and it is fortunate that it is so, the Catholic people do not form a compact bloc, and many vote according to their own whims and not according to instructions coming from their bishops. But the bishops have their electoral influence and make use of it. And in the State of New York, where, in 1940, Mr. Roosevelt beat his opponent by no more than 200,000 votes, the Catholic episcopate may have had something to say. To be

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sure, the episcopate will never come into the open frankly. In life, as in chess, bishops are known to move obliquely. Mr. Roosevelt knows it.

(7) I spare the reader a controversy with Mr. Flannery on his theories about fascism, Christianity, and democracy. I only beg to make clear that while there is no clash between democracy and Christianity, there is a clash between democracy and "Catholic" doctrine, if by "democracy" one is to mean "government by the people" with all that this implies, and if by "Catholic" doctrine one is to mean the doctrine officially expounded by the Popes.

The Catholic doctrine is not to be found in the American Declaration of Independence. Catholic doctrine is to be found in the *Syllabus* published by Pope Pius IX in 1864. That official papal document condemns freedom of thought, freedom of speech, freedom of worship—in short, all the freedoms on which democracy is based. In his encyclical, *Graves de communy,* Pope Leo XIII gave, in 1902, the phrase "Christian democracy" the meaning of "beneficent Christian action among the people" which has to be carried on through "the co-operation *above all* [the emphasis is mine] of those who because of their wealth, their social position, their intellectual and moral culture, exercise the greater influence over society." As a consequence, the "Catholic Encyclopedia of America" in its article, "Democracy Christian," teaches us that Christian democracy has been in existence at least since the time of Constantine, since "Constantine in a period of famine chose the Bishops rather than the civil officials to distribute corn among a starving people, and thus showed his appreciation of Christian democracy." In short, Christian democracy, according to papal teaching, is "charity." This has nothing to do with "government by the people."

Catholic doctrine would uphold any totalitarian regime on the condition that it recognizes and respects the rights and privileges of the Church. It opposes the doctrines of fascism, not because they are totalitarian, but because fascist totalitarianism is not Catholic but secular. Democratic doctrine opposes both Catholic and fascist totalitarianism. Who is right and who is wrong, the Catholic, the Fascist, or the democrat, is a matter of opinion. But it is a fact, and not an opinion, that Catholic doctrine and democratic doctrine are different, and no one should allow himself to smuggle in the Catholic, as if it were the democratic doctrine.

EDITORIAL COMMENT

IN our June issue we published Professor Salvemini's article, *After Il Duce, What in Italy?* This forthright discussion of an international question that has both religious and political implications evoked a great deal of comment, both pro and con. Among the letters of protest, that of Harry W. Flannery, a staunch supporter of the Free World movement in California, was marked by courtesy and understanding. The Editors invited Mr. Flannery to voice his objections in an article which we have now presented with Dr. Salvemini's rebuttal. Lack of time made it impossible to send Dr. Salvemini's reply to Mr. Flannery before publication, but an opportunity will be afforded him by the Editors for a final statement. On this question, as on all others, FREE WORLD seeks to serve as a forum for responsible opinions. This is the time when every individual, no matter how highly placed, and every institution, no matter how ancient and powerful, must be weighed in the democratic balance. Only thus can the people learn to distinguish between the friends and the foes of a free world.

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ROUND TABLE No. 18

THE ROLE OF EUROPEAN LABOR IN POST-WAR EUROPE

THE men gathered around the table for this discussion speak authoritatively for labor and democracy. Siegfried Aufhauser, now secretary of the Labor Committee for Immigrants from Central Europe, was formerly German labor leader and Social Democratic member of the Reichstag; Desider Benau, former Secretary of the Czechoslovakian Trade Unions, is now editor of the New Yorksky Dennik; *General Julius Deutsch represented the Social Democrats as Minister of War in the Austrian Cabinet; Wiktor J. Ehrenpreis, member of the Polish Socialist party, is editor of* Poland Fights; *Philip H. Van Gelder, member of the CIO Executive Board, is the National Secretary-Treasurer of the Industrial Union of Marine and Shipbuilding Workers of America; Paul Hagen, the United States representative of the New Beginning group, a German Underground organization which is part of the Socialist movement, is the author of "Will Germany Crack?"; Finn Moe, former editor of the* Arbeider Bladet, *is now director of the Norwegian Broadcasting Service; Kurt Rosenfeld, former Minister of Justice of Prussia and Social Democratic member of the Reichstag, is now Chairman of the German-American (Anti-Nazi) Emergency Conference; J. Alvarez del Vayo, leader of the Socialist party in Spain, was Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Spanish Republic. Louis Dolivet, who as secretary-general of the I.P.C. was effectively connected with the trade union movements of twenty-two countries, presided.*

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LOUIS DOLIVET—In opening this discussion, I desire, first of all, to pay homage on behalf of FREE WORLD and its readers to the European labor movement, and to its splendid fight against fascism. It is due to this role in the struggle that the European labor movement acquires such tremendous importance in the reconstruction of a democratic Europe and the creation of a democratic world. To understand the future of European labor, we must consider its position, its strength and weaknesses in various European countries before the outbreak of World War II. I shall call first on Mr. Del Vayo to discuss this question.

ESSENTIAL FINDINGS

1. European labor is the most important force in the Underground movement, both because it has taken the initiative in resisting the Nazis and because it has increased numerically through the rapid proletariatization of the European people under nazi rule.
2. The weaknesses of European labor—lack of unity, of program, and of adequate leadership—can be overcome and labor can become a vital factor in the reconstruction of Europe and in the development of democracy and of international co-operation if the aspirations of labor are not suppressed by the victorious powers.
3. German labor must be given the fullest encouragement and support during the period of United Nations occupation to evolve a truly democratic form of government that will keep the peace.
4. The United Nations must indicate as quickly as possible their sympathy with the aspirations of the European labor movement in order to win the fullest loyalty and collaboration of the Underground forces.

J. ALVAREZ DEL VAYO—I am sorry to say that there is greater need to speak about the weaknesses than about the strength of the labor movement in Europe. The outstanding example of this lies in the period between 1936 and 1939 when the Spanish Civil War offered European labor the opportunity to take the struggle in Spain as a basis, or a starting point, for a powerful drive against fascism that would have counteracted all the withdrawals and retreats of the previous years.

DOLIVET—Would you say that the essential weaknesses lay in the internal policies, or in the international policies of the labor movement?

DEL VAYO—The two are, of course, related, but I believe that labor failed more definitely in the international field.

PAUL HAGEN—I think that it is necessary to see the relative responsibility of the European labor movement in proportion to its strength. Take, for instance, the case of the German labor movement. It has become fashionable to say, "Oh, they've just been weak and have been beaten." But the entire German labor movement was only about sixty years old when it had to stand the pressure of the great difficulties that followed the last war. It had to withstand certain international conspiracies.

DOLIVET—Would you describe the international conspiracy?

HAGEN—Immediately after the last war, there is no doubt that responsible forces of the Allies did not feel that German labor should be a partner in the new peace. From the Peace Conference on, during the days when control commissions and others tried to execute the Versailles Treaty arrangements, it was definitely true that the representatives of Western powers did not want a close alliance with German labor. They sought an alliance with our conservative forces. This was true, of course, later even more than in the first period. While the weaknesses of the German labor movement certainly contributed to the downfall of Germany, we must recognize that it at no time had complete control of German politics, and that stronger elements than German labor were beaten later by the fascist machine.

DOLIVET—Since he was a member of the Prussian Government at the time of the crisis, it is pertinent to ask Dr. Rosenfeld whether he agrees with Hagen that German labor was never in control of the situation.

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KURT ROSENFELD—I don't agree completely with Hagen. I think that in November and December of 1918 labor was in power when the German Army was defeated on the battlefronts. The empire cracked and the revolution broke out in Germany and all political power came into the hands of the labor movement. But its leaders failed to use the unlimited power they held for some time to destroy the economic, political, military, police, and bureaucratic forces upon which the empire was founded. The leaders of the very largest democratic party, the Social Democrats, and the leaders of the unions made their peace with Hindenburg and Ludendorff, with the great industrialists and landowners. They did not establish a socialist society at that time, which would have eliminated the forces that had previously governed the empire. Instead, these forces were permitted to exist within the Weimar Republic and were thus enabled, in 1933, to put Hitler into power.

DOLIVET—Mr. Aufhauser, would you agree with this conception?

SIEGFRIED AUFHAUSER—At the moment, I should like to dwell only on the internal reasons for the breakdown of the labor movement in Germany, not the international reasons. Although German labor had a strong organization, and exercised great influence, when it came into power in 1918 it concerned itself merely with political affairs; it took no constructive action in the economic field. Our union and party leaders were fine exponents of the aims of Marxism and socialism, but they did not show us how to cope with the crisis in the capitalist system, especially in meeting the depression that followed the first World War. Secondly, the German labor movement was split. The Communists were against whatever the Socialists wanted to do; and whatever the Communists wanted was opposed by the Social Democrats. The third reason was that the political power of labor in Germany, won in 1918, was transmitted to the Reichstag much too soon.

DOLIVET—Will you explain that point, Mr. Aufhauser?

AUFHAUSER—Labor came into power in 1918, and established a peoples' Government Council, but in the short period between that time and the general elections which took place in January, 1919, the Council had not been able to effectuate this power in the economic structure of Germany. Therefore, in Parliament this strength was transmitted to—what shall I say—anti-labor parties. Thus, the power labor had in 1918 was considerably reduced in 1920. Another opportunity for labor to take control came in connection with the fight against the so-called Kapp *Putsch*. A general strike in which the workers participated as one ended with a splendid victory, but they then found it impossible to establish a labor government. United in the strike, they split in reaping the fruits of victory. A coalition government came into power with disastrous results. The split of the labor movement was its misfortune.

DOLIVET—You think that the split is the principal cause?

HAGEN—I think the split is an expression of weakness. You would not have had the split if the German labor movement had been mature enough and strong enough to take power. I think we have been confused by the fact that while in an economically and technically advanced country like Germany labor could not win control, at the same time it succeeded in doing so in a backward country like Russia. But the situation may be clarified by comparison with America. The United States, too, is technically much farther advanced than Russia, yet labor here is even weaker than it was in Germany. No one can say that the American labor movement today can take over political power. It simply cannot because it does not control enough democratic strength. We must recognize that there are historic situations in which, in spite of a militant policy, the labor movement has not had sufficient strength for democratic control.

DOLIVET—May I ask Van Gelder of the American labor movement if he has something to say about this?

PHILIP H. VAN GELDER—Yes, I think what Mr. Hagen says is undoubtedly correct, that the American labor movement is certainly not in any position to take over the responsibility of government, and I am just wondering if his analysis of the weakness of the German labor movement boils down to its inability to solve or to adopt a pro-

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gram resolving the economic and political plight of the country as a whole, rather than its inability to settle internal differences.

HAGEN—No. I should say that there are situations—and able leadership of the labor movement can create such situations—when it is possible to make a bid for political power. In 1918, the German labor movement had this opportunity, but there were sufficient reasons why its strength was limited. In the elections mentioned by Mr. Aufhauser, the labor movement, split in three parts, did not have as many votes as the other parties. In fact, they had altogether only about one-third of the entire German vote.

Secondly, there was a specific weakness in that the most militant part of the German labor movement was a very small minority. There were only five or six delegates from the Spartakus Bund (later the Communist party) among the fifteen hundred delegates at the first congress of Councils of Soldiers and Workers. Similarly, the Independent Socialist party was a relatively small faction which polled, in the first election, only about 8 per cent of all the votes in Germany. Finally, as I have mentioned, the influence of German labor was restricted because the victorious powers refused to foster a true democratic revolution in Germany. They sought to establish what is again being fostered today—a kind of law-and-order regime, by which they mean a nonrevolutionary and often a nondemocratic regime.

DOLIVET—Dr. Rosenfeld, do you attach the same importance to the part played by the victorious powers in the breakdown of the German labor movement?

ROSENFELD—Yes, I remember very well the day in November—I think it was November 9, 1918—when we who were members of the Government got an offer of aid from the Soviet Government, and at the same time came the protest of the Entente powers which told us that if we accepted this offer, the Entente would make things very difficult for us.

DOLIVET—That is very interesting. Could you say which powers specifically? France and England?

ROSENFELD—Those two powers acted together. I cannot remember at this moment, but France and England surely were those who hindered us. But our difficulty in establishing relations with the Soviet Government at the time of the Weimar Republic was due not only to the influence of the Entente powers. In a large measure, the hatred which poisoned the relations between the Right wing of the labor movement and the Left hindered close co-operation with the Soviet Government. German labor learned too late that the Soviets were a powerful and persistent foe of fascism. Armed with this knowledge, and united in purpose, labor might have succeeded in defending German democracy against Hitler.

DEL VAYO—During the time I was in Germany—from 1920 until 1924, and later in 1928 and 1929—I had the impression that the fundamental difficulty of the labor movement, the prime factor in its failure, was the problem of leadership. Nevertheless, I think it is unjust to direct our reproaches, or to confine the blame, to the German labor movement. For if it failed—and it did fail, especially in 1933 in its fight against fascism—the entire European labor movement failed also. It is very easy to say that only the German Socialists and the German Social Democrats, due to one tendency or another, are responsible for the European situation, but I think that is most unfair and unjust. Of course, in Germany the powers of fascism were stronger than anywhere else and, therefore, the failure of German resistance had greater consequences.

Moreover, in spite of all the mistakes that were committed, I maintain that there was, until 1938—until the moment of Munich—a chance for European labor to fight successfully against fascism. I have always considered Munich the key to the entire situation, because it was at that time that the labor movement refused to take the offensive, and that was, of course, the basis of its failure.

DOLIVET—I should like to ask our friend, General Deutsch, who was Minister of War in a number of Austrian Cabinets, to describe the situation in his country, where labor did achieve an important position in the Government.

JULIUS DEUTSCH—First, let me give you a picture of the strength of the Austrian labor

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movement at that time. After the first World War, the labor movement played a very important role in Austria. In the parliamentary elections, the Social Democratic party received 42 per cent of all the votes, and the number of trade union members reached 800,000.

DOLIVET—Compared to how many workers in all?

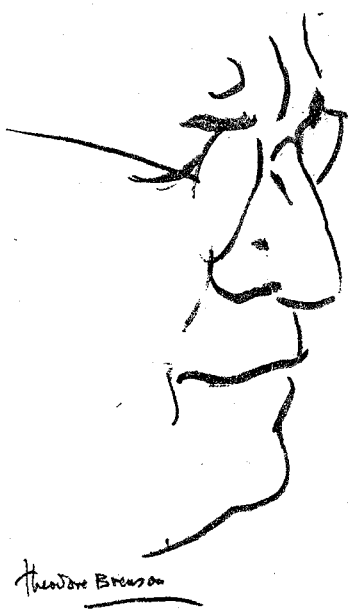
DEUTSCH—About a million workers.

DOLIVET—May I ask, just for comparison, what is the percentage of workers organized in the United States?

VAN GELDER—Twenty-five per cent of the total employed. Perhaps 50 per cent of the industrial workers.

DOLIVET—Only 25 per cent are organized, and in Austria you had 80 per cent.

DEUTSCH—And then, the Social Democrats were in charge of the administration of Vienna, the capital, and of all the larger industrial towns of the country, but—and now I have to speak about a cause of our defeat—the Austrian labor movement was not imbued with the traditional pacificism which was to be found in the labor movements of other countries, especially, I think, in Germany. In the struggle against fascism, the Austrians created a very strong and very effective defense formation, the *Republikanische Schutzbund* (Republican Defense Corps). You see, the reactionary group in Austria could never have triumphed without support from outside. The domestic situation in Austria was absolutely clear; it was not possible to beat us from the inside. The reactionary forces were only victorious in February, 1934 because they were backed by Mussolini. Thus from 1934 to 1938, there was no independent labor movement in Austria, and that was one of the reasons why Hitler could occupy the country without meeting resistance.



J. Alvarez del Vayo

DOLIVET—Would you attach the same importance as Aufhauser to the split in the labor movement as a cause for its breakdown in Austria?

DEUTSCH—In Austria we had no split. The Communist party was a small group, and not important.

AUFHAUSER—I agree with General Deutsch about the Austrian situation and I know that the difficulties of the labor movement in his country were increased by the breakdown in Germany.

ROSENFELD—As Del Vayo said, the entire European labor movement must share the blame for the collapse of the individual labor organizations in different countries, but there was one outstanding exception to that situation. Between Hitler's coming to power and the Reichstag fire, there was a meeting of the international trade unions in Berlin. At this meeting, Sir Walter Citrine, the British representative, offered, in the name of the international organization, to help the German unions in their fight against Hitler. Herr Leipart, president of the unions, answered: "We don't need your help; we need only to press a button and millions of workers will march, and Hitler will disappear." But they did not do it!

DEL VAYO—I know this incident Rosenfeld has cited, and I know the tremendous responsibility which the German union leaders assumed in rejecting the offer of Citrine. But I must insist that the international labor movement bears the greatest share of the responsibility for the failure of labor in Europe after the fall of democracy in Germany. For example, in 1934, the workers of Vienna were fighting against fascism. It was one year after the collapse in Germany, and it was possible for European labor to take the offensive in support of the Viennese workers. Nothing was done. In some countries the workers were already demoralized. They argued, "Well, if we don't fight, as in Germany, we are lost; if we do fight, as in Vienna, we are lost too."

AUFHAUSER—Fascism in Austria began with the semi-fascism of Dollfuss. At that time, it would have been possible for France to intervene on behalf of the Austrian labor movement. I know that the workers of Austria and Czechoslovakia appealed to the workers of France to bring

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about this intervention against Dollfuss' fascism. In the early part of 1934, the French labor movement had great political influence; it received this appeal, but it took no action in support of Austrian labor.

DEUTSCH—I can tell you the story about the situation. Some months before the fight of February, I was in Prague and spoke to Eduard Beneš, later the president of Czechoslovakia, about the situation in Austria. I explained that if Vienna were lost, then Prague would be defeated, too, and that democracy in Europe could survive only if democracy in Vienna and Prague was maintained. Beneš said, "Yes, you are right. We must speak to our French friends." He called in the French Minister, Paul Boncour, and explained the Austrian situation to him. Paul Boncour said, "Yes, I will intervene and I will speak to Dollfuss"—and he did.

After our defeat I went to Paris, and called on Paul Boncour. He said: "Do you remember the time that I promised to speak to Dollfuss? Well, Dollfuss gave me a promise that he would not fight against the Social Democrats, but in February, following the fight, I was not in the Government, (our Government fell just at that time). Nevertheless, I called on our ambassador in Vienna and he spoke to Dollfuss. Dollfuss remembered that he had promised not to fight against the Social Democratic party. Dollfuss said to the ambassador, 'Yes, I promised Paul Boncour, but Boncour is no longer a ruler of France, and so it is not necessary to keep my promise.'"

DOLIVET—Czechoslovakia is another country where, although the labor movement was never actually in power, it freely developed its strength and political influence. I am sure we should like to hear Mr. Benau's report on conditions there.

DESIDER BENAU—The spirit of the Czechoslovak labor movement was as strong as in the other countries mentioned here. Czechoslovakia was a small and young state. Labor, like other classes of the population, fought for many years for national freedom. The labor movement was strong enough to have achieved political power, had it not been for the pressure of Hitler and nazism. It is necessary to stress the fact that Hitler arrested the progress of the labor movement in Czechoslovakia. Our ideology had penetrated to the other classes of the population, including the army. Conrad Markovitch, the Minister of War, for instance, was a Social Democrat.

Siegfried Aufhauser

It is fair to say that the strength of the labor movement in Czechoslovakia, as well as in other countries, lay in its having indicated the only way out of the economic crisis that affected the world. The weakness of the Czechoslovakian labor movement, as that of all European labor, was in its factional split. Capital was able to take advantage of the divided labor movement to arrest the realization of its fundamental principles. From the first day, we had the strength but we did not assume power, yet, all the time we were in the Government and we had the opportunity to take control. Moreover, both our Presidents, Masaryk and Beneš, were very close to the labor movement. Their influence was on our side.

DOLIVET—There is another country, the independence of which was a cause of great pride to the makers of the last peace, and on whose labor movement we set great hopes. Mr. Ehrenpreis can tell us about developments in Poland.

WIKTOR J. EHRENPREIS—The hopes placed in the Polish labor movement after the last war were based on the circumstance that men who had come from its ranks, but were no longer directly affiliated with the movement, were active in the struggle for Poland's independence before 1918. This fight for independence was waged by small groups of conspirators, and the real strength of the movement in the social field was not of great importance.

When Poland became independent, the first Government of the republic was a labor Government which controlled only

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part of the territory. This Government, however, was short-lived. In only two instances since then has the Polish labor movement participated in coalition governments in national emergencies. These, too, were short-lived. During the democratic period of the Polish Republic, which lasted until 1928, the labor movement was not strong enough to have a decisive influence on parliament. In that year, the labor movement secured its greatest parliamentary success, the Polish Socialist party polling about 15 per cent of the total vote, its high mark in parliamentary elections. But, as you know, there was a breakdown in the democratic regime of Poland shortly thereafter. From that time to the outbreak of the second World War, we constituted an opposition party in parliament.

Kurt Rosenfeld

The breakdown of Polish democracy was an episode in the struggle against the landowner class and its satellite groups which opposed the economic and social aspirations of the peasants and workers. This was the period when the industrialization of Poland made its greatest progress, and the labor movement grew with that process of industrialization. It must be noted that dictatorship in Poland never went so far as to forbid the opposition of political parties, or to suppress the trade union movement. There were hindrances, of course, but the labor movement carried on.

There is no doubt that if democracy had prevailed, the Polish labor movement would have exercised tremendous influence upon the Government, and would have reached the position like that of the Czechoslovakian labor movement. It was the dictatorship that prevented the political combination of labor and the peasants who were by far the strongest social force in the country. It is obvious to me that the Polish dictatorship, which was never particularly strong, would not have been able to resist the opposition of labor and the peasants had it not been for the international situation in Europe. It utilized the argument that, placed between two totalitarian states—Germany and Russia—Poland could not exist as a democracy. At that time it was taken for granted that strong military power could be created only by totalitarian states. We know now the fallacy of that view, but it was a commonplace at that time.

DOLIVET—Could you give us some figures concerning the strength of the labor movement in Poland?

EHRENPREIS—There were about 800,000 people employed in industry in Poland and about 200,000 employed in transport. Of these, in 1938, about 550,000 were members of the General Trade Union Council, of what was called the labor class movement; about 150,000 workers were members of other labor unions.

DOLIVET—So 55 per cent of the organized proletariat were represented by a socialist-oriented labor movement?

EHRENPREIS—Yes, and I should like to point out that in the last two or three years before the outbreak of the war, the other labor federations, the non-class labor federations, were engaged in negotiations leading toward unification.

DOLIVET—What is the situation in Norway?

FINN MOE—Before the invasion, Norway was well advanced on the road to political and economic democracy. The feeling of social solidarity and social responsibility was strongly developed. The Government's right to intervene in economic affairs was widely acknowledged. Few Norwegian capitalists would be willing to argue that the public services should be run by private capital, although they opposed further extension of public ownership. It was universally recognized that the Government had a wide range of obligations in relation to its citizens. For years it had been taken for granted that it was the duty of the Government to take care of the old, the unem-

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ployed, and the invalided. Thus, the system of social legislation was highly developed. The Norwegian industrialists recognized that it was better for capital and labor to deal with each other on an organized basis. Therefore, the conflicts between labor and capital did not take violent forms.

The average standard of living of the people was somewhat higher in the Scandinavian countries than in any other European country. The trade union membership represented a very high proportion of the organizable wage earners of Norway. The federation of trade unions had about 300,000 members out of a population of 684,000 wage earners. At the last election in October, 1936, the Labor party polled about 42.5 per cent of the total votes and got 70 out of 115 members of the Parliament. From March, 1935 until the invasion, Norway had a Labor Government, which although it was a minority Government, was able to carry out far-reaching reforms.

Ninety-eight per cent of the Norwegian people is fighting the German oppressors with all possible means. This fight has united the people to a degree unknown before in Norway's modern history. There is a political truce between all the parties. They are all fighting to get back the democracy we had before the invasion as a starting point to make a still better democracy. It would, therefore, not be correct on my part to say that labor is the backbone of the resistance. Labor is a very important part of the home front because of the numerical strength of the workers, but other categories of the people are as firm in their resistance and as keen as labor in their fight.

As to the causes and the results of this fight, I can only repeat what President Roosevelt said in a speech last year: "If there is anyone who still wonders why this war is being fought, let him look to Norway. If there is anyone who has any delusions that this war could have been averted, let him look to Norway. And if there is anyone who doubts the democratic will to win, again I say, let him look to Norway. He will find in Norway, at once conquered and unconquerable, the answer to his questioning."

Paul Hagen

DOLIVET—I hardly dare ask Del Vayo about the Spanish proletariat, because the Spanish proletariat, we may say, had almost no weaknesses. It fought until the last day, and it is really the only example in which the proletariat fell only because of foreign intervention.

DEL VAYO—We also had our weaknesses, and we are very aware of them. We had in Spain, as you say, the only instance of a defeat because of intervention from other countries of Europe. We had the so-called Anarcho-Syndicalist movement, the Confederacion Trabajo (General Workers Confederation). This organization stemmed from the anarchist movement. It was very strong, especially in Catalonia and Valencia. An interesting aspect of this, in connection with our discussion concerning leadership, was that no one thought it possible then to win the Anarcho-Syndicalist movement for coordinated action, and for the assumption of political responsibility. It was an achievement of great merit for Largo Caballero, when he became Prime Minister of Spain in 1936, to obtain from the Syndicalists, not only active co-operation in the defense of Spain, but participation in the Government.

DOLIVET—That is a fact of historic importance.

DEL VAYO—That is of historic importance to the Spanish proletariat. Now collaboration is exemplified in the activities of the Underground. The political parties in Spain and other small groups, too, have done heroic work, but it is the General Workers Union of Spain which is today the basis of the whole Underground movement.

I am sure that this is the case everywhere in Europe. I think that nobody can be excluded from the Underground movement, nobody. I think that everyone who

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is against Hitler must be welcomed in the ranks of the Underground army struggling against fascism. I do not hesitate to say that labor is the strongest force in the Underground movement in Europe and it is, therefore, the strongest potential ally of the United Nations. It is the best card that they can play in their attack on the so-called fortress of Europe.

I say with full conviction that labor can play an immense part in gaining the victory of the United Nations. But I should not be honest if I did not say with great regret that the United Nations are not using labor to its full capacity, and I think that one of the reasons why they are not using it is that there are certain aspects of labor activities in Europe that are in a very great degree dependent upon the work of some men—for instance, the men around this table today, and certain men in England—to which the leaders of the United Nations are inimical. I do not think a real Underground movement can be conducted from the outside, but it can be greatly encouraged and supported. I think FREE WORLD and this Round Table will render a great service in informing American public opinion, and especially our friends in the American labor movement, about this situation. I should like to repeat the statement of a famous Englishman who declared that if England had organized the two hundred key men, who are now in exile, in connection with the real mass movement in Europe, she would have accomplished more toward attaining victory than has been done by the United Nations.

II

DOLIVET—Would you say, Del Vayo, that the American and British labor movements could even, apart from their Governments, make a significant contribution to the Underground movement?

DEL VAYO—I lay great stress and great responsibility on the British labor movement because Great Britain is very close to the battlefields of Europe, but I think that American labor has equal responsibility. It is not a question of reproaching the American labor movement, but I am sure that an appeal signed by all the labor leaders of America, together with the chief labor leaders of Europe, would constitute the best possible propaganda. It should be an appeal in the form of a great slogan—with the names of Phil Murray and Bill Green and all the other leaders who are well-known in Europe, as well as all the British and European leaders—stating: "We are here to help you, not only to win the war—that is what is needed first of all—but also to guarantee that after the immense sacrifices you are making as the shock troops against Hitler you are going to have the kind of regime that you want in Europe." I think such a statement, signed by American labor leaders, pledging themselves to secure the influence of American labor in support of the labor movements of Europe, would constitute a great political act that will have the utmost influence in the organization of the peace.

DOLIVET—Will you comment on that, Van Gelder?

VAN GELDER—I think that it would not be a difficult matter to get such an appeal or a promise of support from the American labor movement. I think a more difficult matter would be for the American labor movement to unite on a program for a post-war world, either among themselves or with the British labor movement and, perhaps, the Russian labor movement, that would give some positive content to a promise of support and some hope to the European labor movement of achieving the kind of peace we are fighting for. That, it seems to me, is the biggest problem.

I think we need to have a better understanding of the aspirations of the European labor movement and of the peculiar problems of the labor movement than we now have. There is no question that, by and large, we do not have that, because we have not had close contact with the European labor movement in the past. But I do not think there would be any hesitation at all on the part of the leaders of the American labor movement to promise complete support, and sympathy, and a call for help for the European labor movement, on the occasion of the launching of an invasion of Europe.

DEL VAYO—I greatly welcome this statement from Van Gelder. I think it is most encouraging. I understand the difficulty of agreeing on a program for this specific

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moment, but it is not so much a question of a detailed program as of two or three principles, on which the European Council of the Free World Association has already agreed.

DEUTSCH—I agree with Mr. Del Vayo.

DOLIVET—Let's come back for a minute to those two related questions: labor's role in the Underground movement, and the aspirations of European labor.

HAGEN—It can be stated that in Germany, definitely, labor is the leading force of the Underground movement. There are, of course, other groups opposed to nazism, but in an organized form, temporarily in mass form, it is only the traditional labor forces that have continuously kept up their opposition.

A few figures may be important. There were more than 15,000 former members of the different labor parties, unions, and so on, who were killed at the time when the Nazis took power. Since that time, there has been a continuous killing of labor members. In 1933, it was about ten or twenty a month; recently, it has gone up to betwen sixty and a hundred a month. Of those cases known —and there may have been many more— over a million labor organization members were committed to concentration camps and prisons. I don't know how heavy the sentences were, but it was an aggregate of several million years of imprisonment for them, altogether.

There has been no let down in resistance; in fact, recently there has been a marked increase. The terror, too, increases. We have reports, for instance, that a few weeks ago a number of leaders of the Social Democratic party were shot, together with one hundred and sixty members of Socialist and other groups. These were not taken from prisons, but from among those who had been at liberty through all these years. In the past months of September, November, and December, the number of people executed averaged sixty a month, and whenever we got the names we discovered that they were invariably members of former labor organizations.

I want to say something about the general situation in Germany as it affects labor. There is a complete division in what one may call German morale. The upper crust is fighting with its back to the wall, and with the knowledge that there is no possibility of surrendering to the Allies without paying for their crimes at home and abroad. On the other hand, the working people, and above all, organized labor, want to stop the war as soon as possible. We have proof of this in the fact that every night of heavy bombing in western Germany is followed by the court martialing of a score of workers for Underground activities under cover of the raid.

We also have a situation of mass absenteeism. Workers leave their factories in thousands after every air raid, and it takes days to get them back. The Nazis have set up the *Landwachter* (Country Guard), a special corps to round up the wandering workers. Working women, too, are offering great resistance. We get constant reports of local riots conducted chiefly by women.

DOLIVET—Resistance against the occupying forces has strengthened labor everywhere, particularly in Poland, I believe.

EHRENPREIS—During the German occupation, the growth of the labor movement which began in the last years of the prewar regime has continued, first, because the workers suffer most from the occupation. One of the first measures taken by the Germans was to abolish all workers' organizations. Moreover, the Polish workers were most subject to deportation to Germany. Finally, the Polish Socialist party had taken a leading part in the defense of the country after the flight of the Government. Thus, it is natural that labor assumed leadership in the Underground movement.

Of course, you must bear in mind that labor is not the only Underground force. All the political movements that existed before the war, and were real mass movements, continued to function, but labor is still by far the strongest of all these movements. And it is also from the labor movement that the most outstanding statements of the Polish Underground have come.

DOLIVET—Before you come to the statements, may I ask you a question? Would it be correct to say that the labor movement is growing so strong in Poland that there is a chance it may become the chief political factor in post-war Poland, because this is very important in relation to Russia, and so forth? This is not yet expressed in the structure of the Government-in-exile.

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EHRENPREIS – I think that we all should remember that the governments-in-exile represent the legal and constitutional continuity of the occupied countries, but they cannot be considered as the expression of the real proportion of social and political strength inside the countries. I think all of those present here know that. There is a strong possibility of the labor movement becoming the decisive political force in Poland after the war, because the traditionally conservative classes have become considerably weaker with the progress of the war.

DOLIVET—Is there organized co-operation between the labor movement and the peasant movement?

EHRENPREIS—It is hardly possible to speak about organizational moves which are going on in the Underground, but there has always been a strong tendency in both the labor and the peasant movements to act together in things of common concern. That existed before the war, and that is likely to continue.

Now, I should also like to draw your attention to one point. What is going on under German occupation—and that is characteristic, not only in Poland, but in most of the occupied countries—is an extreme growth of what is called in French, the *declassés,* people who were originally from a bourgeois origin or people coming from professional families, now unable to continue their way of living, who have become wage-earners and, therefore, potential members of the labor movement.

In normal times, there is a strong sense in Poland of caste and social background. Even the people who are economically no better off than the workers do not join workers' organizations because they consider themselves higher in social standing. But because of the terrific pressure of German occupation, these barriers are breaking down and there are many cases of people who have been removed from their normal environment, taken to other parts of the country, who shake off these prejudices and accept their place in the economic stratum to which they belong.

DOLIVET—Mr. Aufhauser, I see you would like to get back to the German situation.

AUFHAUSER—I should like to explain the psychological aspects of the situation the German workers find themselves in under Hitler, the special difficulties of which have not been recognized or appreciated. The collapse of the Republic and Hitler's assumption of power, without serious resistance on the part of the labor organizations, paralyzed the masses. This paralysis lasted until the beginning of 1934, when small groups began to study the reasons for their collapse. In the following years, centers of the former German labor movement were established in Prague, in Paris, in Switzerland, Norway, Sweden, and other places. These centers succeeded in retaining close contacts with the workers inside Germany. All kinds of printed matter was smuggled into German factories. The work was so effective that the Gestapo felt compelled to use the most cruel means of suppression. While they seldom found the men who brought this propaganda into Germany, they arrested thousands of shop stewards, sent them to concentration camps, tortured and executed them in ever-increasing numbers. We were forced to stop this form of opposition. No one could take responsibility for so many victims.

At the same time, Goebbels' propaganda, utilizing the press and radio, sought to win some hold on the masses—and it was not without success. The combination of physical force and constant abuse and calumny of the labor parties and unions in the Republic had their effect. But the loyal labor leaders continued their activities and adapted their methods to meet the conditions. Their most successful tactics were to utilize the promises and slogans of Hitler to make demands for minor or almost trivial concessions. This served to unite the workers in the plants. For instance, in one factory the workers asked to have the building beautified, a demand justified by the proclamation of *Schoenheit im Arbeit* (beauty in work). In another factory they asked for weekly payment of wages instead of every ten days. In a third, they asked to be paid for the Christmas holidays. And so on.

The committees that undertook this work included all workers, Socialists, Communists, and even Nazis. The nazi workers have been disappointed since 1934 by the anti-labor attitude of the Hitler regime.

Today, they are more radical than other workers in the factories. This radicalism has led to the dissolution of the nazi factory

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organizations, but each plant has developed a real unity of the working community, and these factory unions will be important in the coming effort to overthrow Hitler's dictatorship. I want to emphasize that the source of power for the German opposition to Hitler is in the large plants of German industry. And finally, please remember that the German workers are not conducting a national revolution, but a social one.

DOLIVET—May I address a question to all our German colleagues, similar to the one I have already asked about Poland: do you believe that the split in the labor ranks is being overcome so that the German labor movement may become the leading political force after the war?

AUFHAUSER—The split of the labor movement in the past has no significance at present. Now we have unity of workers within each plant. These factory communities—there are no organizations; they are invisible groups—consist of all the workers of the plant; they are not connected with this or that party, although most of them have former trade union officers.

Philip H. Van Gelder

ROSENFELD—It is also my opinion that labor is the decisive force. I should not hesitate to say that the decisive force in Germany can only be labor. Naturally, I do not ignore that other forces are also working in Germany against Hitler, but there is no comparison between them and labor, even if you take into consideration the church opposition. No doubt, the churches are influencing part of the population, but if it comes to a real, decisive fight, labor—and labor alone—will decide the future of Germany.

I should like, particularly, to underline what Mr. Aufhauser said about the increasing unity of the workers in Germany. There is no greater proof of that than the report of an Underground conference held somewhere in the Rhineland in December, 1942, which adopted a peace manifesto that seems to me to be of historic importance. I present it herewith.

PEACE MANIFESTO

1. The immediate end of military operations. The recall of the German Army to Germany and the renunciation of conquests of foreign territory.

2. The overthrow of the Hitler Government and the formation of a national democratic peace Government.

3. The arrest and punishment of those responsible for the war and the confiscation of their property. The disbandment of the S. S. and the Gestapo.

4. The liberation of the arrested and convicted clergymen, deputies, party and trade union leaders, and of those imprisoned by the Hitler Government for political activities. The abolition of concentration camps and humiliating racial laws.

5. Freedom of speech, press, assembly, religion, and opinion. The free performance of religious ceremonies. The freedom of political, economic, and cultural organizations.

6. The abolition of all the economic laws enforced by the Hitler Government to the detriment of the people. The restoration of the freedom of peasant households and handicrafts and the freedom of trade. The security and freedom of development for small and medium enterprises in agriculture, trade, and industry. The just distribution of the taxation burden. Aid to enterprises producing consumers' goods and foreign trade. The constitutional protection of legally acquired private property.

7. Work, fair wages, an eight-hour working day, and the right to rest for all workers and office employees. The restoration of civil rights to civil servants. Aid to the youth to facilitate their education and development.

8. Adequate state relief and ample relief to the victims of the war and the relatives of the men killed in the war, at the expense of confiscating the property of those responsible for the war and of all profiteers and robbers.

9. A foreign policy of international collaboration with peoples and states. The recognition of the right of all peoples

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to independence and their own statehood.

10. The convening, on the basis of equal and direct suffrage with secret ballot, of a new constituent national assembly to work out a democratic constitution and to establish constitutional and material guarantees of rights, of law and order.

In order to fulfill this program, unity, created by workers, peasants, intellectuals, and progressive middle class groups, is essential. *One great labor party* and *one great trade union movement* in Germany must be the aim of the labor movement. The future of Germany does not depend upon post-war programs. These cannot be more than speculative because nobody knows now if and when there will be an anti-nazi revolution in Germany. The future of Germany does depend upon closer relations between the different labor parties and upon the unity of the different anti-nazi groups whose task will be to build up, step by step, a society in which security and liberty is guaranteed to each and all.

VAN GELDER—Let me ask you—how big a conference was this?

ROSENFELD—Oh, ten or fifteen persons.

VAN GELDER—Was it a regional thing?

ROSENFELD—It was in the Rhineland, but it expressed the sentiments of German labor and the German Underground movement. Since Mr. Del Vayo spoke of the possibility of the United Nations aiding the Underground movement, I must call the attention of this Round Table and of the American people generally to the danger that the German Underground may be disheartened and alienated by such post-war plans as are attributed to the American Government in the recent article by Kingsbury Smith in the *American Mercury*. I doubt very much whether the American Government has adopted any such plan, which can destroy all the potential strength and influence of the Underground that represents our Allies behind the German lines. I cannot imagine that it will do so or that it will get the approval of the English and Soviet Governments. In either case, this article is dangerous. It offers Goebbels the opportunity to say to our friends in the Underground movement: "Look what the Americans are bringing you. Do you expect the help of Americans? Here is proof that America threatens to crush you."

HAGEN—Barring such foreign intervention, I am absolutely convinced that the combination of the traditions of German labor and the Underground resistance will result in the rebirth, within Germany, of the strongest labor movement in Central Europe.

DOLIVET—Would you say that the labor movement will emerge as the dominant power in Germany, or will there be a national front, as Rosenfeld suggests?

HAGEN—There is danger of a misunderstanding here. German labor will defend national interests, not in opposition to the national interests of others, but in a democratic sense. Since it will assume the task of national liberation, it will be a democratic national movement—not a nationa*list* movement. Don't forget that in Germany labor constitutes the large majority of the population. The process of proletariatizing the population has been going on during the war—the same process that we find in the occupied territories—and the middle classes in Germany have been practically wiped out. Thus, the labor movement which has democratic and international traditions—particularly in opposition to the extreme nationalism of fascism—will not only cooperate with other sections of society in Germany, but will insist on peaceful cooperation with all of Europe.

VAN GELDER—Is it true that the middle classes are fairly depleted in Germany, that the small businessmen—

HAGEN—Yes. The process has been going on throughout Hitler's reign, and particularly during the last six months. Since January 23, I think, there has been a general labor conscription including professional and business people; there has been confiscation of all stocks; there has been a large scale liquidation of small businesses. Hitler has, in fact, proletariatized Germany at a far more rapid tempo than during any other period of industrialization.

DOLIVET—What about Czechoslovakia?

BENAU—I think the labor movement in Czechoslovakia will be stronger after the war. As you know, the Underground in Czechoslovakia is very active and the Government has established close connections with it. In our country, as elsewhere, the labor movement has lost its leaders. They were killed or tortured to death in concen-

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tration camps, but still the strongest and best organized Underground is in those parts of Czechoslovakia where we had a strong labor organization. The difference between Czechoslovakia and other countries lies in the fact that the labor movement has always worked in collaboration with other classes.

DOLIVET—Do you foresee any danger of a successful reactionary movement in Czechoslovakia after the war?

BENAU—That isn't possible.

DOLIVET—I asked this question because—and I am sure Ehrenpreis will agree with me—there is such a danger in Poland, for example. Despite the strength of the labor movement, I should not like to have a wrong impression given that labor is almost certain to take power everywhere.

EHRENPREIS—Well, if Poland is left alone, there is hardly any danger of a reactionary victory in Poland; if it is left alone to care for itself.

DOLIVET—Is there any danger in Germany or elsewhere of an antagonism between the workers and the farmers, a situation which is often exploited by the reactionary interests?

AUFHAUSER—In the past, we had some antagonism between labor and farmers, but the farm organization of Hitler will help us to unify the farmers and the workers.

DOLIVET—You mean to say that the fact that Hitler has organized the farmers, who were not organized before, has created a basis for collaboration?

HAGEN—He set up the same type of coersive organization for farmers as for workers. The equivalent of the Labor Front is the Farm Front.

ROSENFELD—I think the farmers will be as disappointed as the workers, and therefore, immediately after the destruction of Hitlerism, the farmers will approve the creation of a new and democratic state. But I think it will be similar to 1918. Immediately after the revolution, there was no opposition on the part of the farmers; but when the revolutionary Government, in November and December of 1918, did not follow the proposals of the farmers, then the opposition started. I think that in the future it will again depend on the policy of the Government.

DEUTSCH—To understand the position of labor in Austria after the war, it is necessary to realize that our Underground movement has been slow in development, but now the Nazis begin to fear the Austrian workers and their Underground activities. Since the Autumn of 1942, a reign of terror and persecution has been felt in Austria. From the first to the twentieth of January of this year, thirty-eight persons were executed for Underground activities. In one week in April, there were thirteen such executions. Most of the victims were members of the Social Democratic party and of the trade unions. While party differences are hardly noticeable in Underground work, there is no doubt that labor plays the chief role.

We may be sure that labor will also play the chief role in post-war Austria. We never had a strong bourgeoisie, like that of Germany; we had only two significant classes—labor and the farmers. In the early days of our Republic, there was a coalition between these two; later there were differences, and the farmers turned to semi-fascism. But after their experience with the Dollfuss-Schuschnigg regimes, and their experience with Hitler, we may hope that in the future the farmers will again collaborate with the workers.

DOLIVET—Are you preparing some program for the farmers? I mean, one of the widespread reproaches of the farm organizations in Europe has been that the labor movement never had any specific program for the farmers.

DEUTSCH—We had one in Austria. We had a definite farm program in Austria.

DOLIVET—As part of the labor movement?

DEUTSCH—As part of the labor movement, yes. You see, we had a special section of farmers in the Social Democratic party; there were not only workers, but we had farmers, too.

EHRENPREIS—The difference or the issue between labor and farmers in the United States is an issue concerning the division of the national income, because these two groups are among the three big recipients of national income. Now, in Poland, the peasant question is quite different, because the average farm is not run by a farmer who employs labor himself, but which he works himself, and as a rule, the acreage of his plot is too small to support him and his family throughout the year, so that for part

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of the year he is a migratory laborer in industry, or in other parts of the country on other crops. These circumstances preclude the possibility of any basic antagonism between wage labor and the peasants. The interests of labor and the peasants are to a great extent parallel in Poland, and this explains why peasants and workers always march together and fight together for the same cause.

I should also like to point out that if there is any reproach to the labor movement as to the nonexistence of a farm program, this cannot apply to the Polish labor movement, which has always had a very definite program with reference to agrarian problems.

HAGEN—One factor in strengthening labor in Germany must be attributed to the economic centralization that has taken place in the last ten years, which involved the extensive expropriation of former property owners. Today, the greater part of our metal production is in the hands of the *Goeringwerke;* similarly, the major part of our synthetic production—oil, fibres, and so on—a large portion of the printing and publishing business is state or party business. With the defeat of the Nazis, these industries will automatically return to the people because it is unthinkable that their present nazi owners will remain in position. Even if the Germans did not throw them out, the United Nations would. This will form the basis of a great revolution.

III

DOLIVET—I think it would interest our readers to inform them that this Round Table was held in two meetings in order to cover the subject, and that the chief topic for this session is the consideration of the essential aspirations of the European labor movement. I should like to call first on General Deutsch.

DEUTSCH—To take up first the aims of Austrian labor, I may say that the Austrian Underground has not yet formulated its aspirations into a program, yet the latest reports we have received disclose their views on the important questions. They indicate that the Austrian workers are no longer in favor of *Anschluss,* and they are strongly opposed to a restoration of the Hapsburgs. They definitely desire an independent Austria within a federation which will secure their economic stability and eliminate the customs barriers of Central Europe.

DOLIVET—You mean that, as against the *Anschluss,* they are considering some sort of regional organization for the Danubian Basin? Or do you mean that they have in mind a European federation or a world federation?

DEUTSCH—I think that the feeling of the masses is for a regional federation as a part in the European federation.

DOLIVET—Would you say, Mr. Benau, that the Czechoslovakian labor movement is in favor of a regional federation?

BENAU—Yes, we are for it, but only if this federation is agreed upon by all the states concerned and the great powers—Russia, England, and America.

DOLIVET—To return to Austria, would you say that the labor movement aspires to a socialist state or some sort of mixed economic system?

Julius Deutsch

DEUTSCH—Of course, the workers are for a social-democratic Austria, but Austrian labor is at the moment not strong enough to put that into effect. I think that for the time being, the best solution will be a combination of Austrian labor with the democratic farmers.

DOLIVET—Do you think, Mr. Hagen, that Germany, freed from the nazi yoke, would still insist on *Anschluss?*

HAGEN—No, I think the stand of German labor will be in accordance with the principle of national

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self-determination within the limits of interdependence. German workers would certainly object to the recognition of any of Hitler's conquests. They may favor plebiscites after a certain period and under international control in such territories where the German speaking people are in a majority.

DOLIVET – Dr. Rosenfeld, would you try to summarize the essential aspirations of the German labor movement?

ROSENFELD—They are already formulated, and I have presented them earlier in offering the program and peace manifesto adopted in the Rhineland last December.

DOLIVET—Dr. Rosenfeld, in FREE WORLD we have often discussed the future developments in Germany, and one problem has always come up which concerns our colleagues here from the neighboring countries. That is the problem of safeguarding the democratic elements against the return of some form of reaction.

VAN GELDER—Will you not also need some outside assistance or interference, and is not that a pretty important problem, as to what measure and what degree of interference or assistance will be required by the labor movement from the United Nations?

DOLIVET—Would you complete this idea, which seems to be very interesting?

VAN GELDER—Yes, certainly. It would be foolish to ignore the possibility of reactionary elements gaining the upper hand because labor everywhere failed to support the democratic aspirations of the German labor movement. Of course, we don't know what the military plans are, but if the labor movements of the United Nations had some voice or some influence there, then they certainly should assist the German labor movement to guard against any reactionary capture of power.

HAGEN—I think every liberal in the world understands what is necessary to enable us in Germany to meet the situation that will face us after the war. German labor is in complete agreement that in order to avoid regression it is necessary to cut across horizontal rather than vertical lines. Some people seem to think that world security against German aggression can be gained by division of Germany, by separating its parts, by tutorship from outside. The fallacy in these ideas lies in the fact that such methods would naturally tend to develop at least a passive resistance on the part of the people, and a nationalist spirit.

The other method, namely, to cut out of the German body politic those elements and institutions that have been responsible for German aggression, has the advantage of going to the roots of the evil. For it is not simply the Nazi party that has been responsible for the last outbreak of German aggression. The Nazi party itself was created by certain social forces in Germany—industrialists, Junkers, and all those remnants of ancient German bureaucracy, including the "elite intellectuals" and the military caste. The program that Dr. Rosenfeld has presented seems to me to have taken little thought of these factors, or of the problem involved in securing a continuity of democratic process in Germany after the war, for instance, when talking about so-called "legally acquired private property." After ten years of fascism, what is "legally acquired private property"? The program wants to eliminate only the inner circle of the Nazi party, and there is not enough emphasis placed upon a militant *democratic* system.

We must bear in mind the specific situation in Germany. There we have many remnants of the Middle Ages, which in other Western countries have long since been abolished by revolutions and other processes of emancipation. In Germany, even during the Republic, the power was never really in the hands of the people, but in the former "elite," in the cliques of the vested interests. The essential point is that the only cure for Germany is to become a truly democratic country where the great majority, the laboring people, will have the controlling influence in shaping her relationship with other nations and promoting a peaceful future.

DOLIVET—This still is not quite to the point of Van Gelder's question.

ROSENFELD—The only protection against the return of fascism is the destruction of those forces that brought about fascism, which means the economic forces, which means the militarist forces, the political forces that brought Hitler into power.

DOLIVET—Would you accept Van Gelder's idea about outside intervention?

ROSENFELD—I think, Mr. Van Gelder, that the intervention, the support, and the

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help you speak of, which the German labor movement ought to get from the outside labor movement, is very important, and I think everybody in Germany would accept it. But the difficulty will be in how to manage it, and this difficulty will come, I think more from the United Nations governments than from labor. We do not even know now whether labor will appear at the peace conference. "We want to participate in the peace," American labor insists. "We want a place at the peace table." But as things stand now, I doubt very much whether the labor movement would get its place at the peace table today.

HAGEN—In answer to Mr. Van Gelder's question, I think it is reasonable to be prepared for an Allied occupation of Germany as the last act of the war, and as an effective means of disarming German fascism. The question will then be whether this occupation is the last act of war during which the occupation authorities will sponsor democratic self-government, or whether it will be transformed into a permanent system of foreign rule. Progressive elements everywhere can best aid the German labor movement—and that help will be gratefully accepted—by bringing about the democratic emancipation of Germany by impressing upon their statesmen that they must foster and encourage all that is healthy in the German working masses. Germany's institutions have to be changed; they will be changed for the better only through a democratic revolution. That is the only guarantee for a lasting democratic system.

DOLIVET—Ehrenpreis, would you be satisfied—do you think the Polish labor movement, suffering so much today, would be satisfied with this kind of arrangement?

EHRENPREIS—I think that the Polish labor movement, as well as other Poles, would demand strong, even military, guarantees which would prevent a return of the circumstances that created the present war. Foreign assistance to German democracy is necessary; and, as the years pass by, forms could be found which would be acceptable to the German people. We realize very well that the Germans will not like being pushed around by other people, but something has to be done to prevent another outbreak.

The essence of the thing is this: the Germans can't ask that for the sake of their national feelings, neighboring nations should forsake necessary safeguards. If this can be effected in a way which would not trouble the Germans very much, of course, that would be the easiest solution.

I think this is a thing that cannot be planned in advance. We will, first of all, have to see what the conditions—political, economic, and social—in Germany are like at the end of the war, and whether a military defeat will bring about the end of the war, followed by a revolution, or whether the situation will be reversed. These circumstances and many others will determine the form of safeguards which Poland and the other neighboring nations will have to ask for.

MOE—As to the attitude of Norwegian labor toward the German question, I need only quote from a statement by Mr. Nordahl, the President of the Norwegian Trade Union Federation, who is now in London. He expresses here in the mildest terms the feelings of the Norwegian workers:

> Tremendous obstacles to the new way of life, not only economical but psychological and traditional, are to be found in *all* classes of the German people. These obstacles cannot be overcome and removed only by beating Hitler and the Nazi party. They will have to be eliminated through economic, social, and educational changes, which in their turn, I suppose, can only be achieved through a military occupation for some time, and through educational work, possibly extending for generations.
>
> A great danger exists in the not unusual capitalist point of view that a new Germany will be born as soon as any group—whether Junker or capitalist—other than Hitler and his gang has taken over the Government of Germany. Another danger—today far smaller, however—lies in the traditional Leftists working class optimism concerning the possibility—even now, before military victory, or immediately after that victory—of having a real social upheaval, or even an organized social revolution on a democratic basis in Germany. We do not question the desirability of such an upheaval or such a revolution, nor deny that everything possible should be done to achieve that end. We hold, however, that this work will not succeed unless it is based upon a critical and objective estimate of facts. Nor does this point of view deny that the economic and social conditions in Germany, as in the other parts of the world, are of basic im-

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portance to the policy and the behavior of the people. It is, however, important to acknowledge that, apart from material conditions and consequences, there still remains a problem to be solved in the now prevailing German mind and attitude.

DEUTSCH—A military occupation will not produce effective peaceful development in Germany or anywhere else. I know a little about the military system, and it is my opinion that the officers and the people in the military hierarchy are not the best men for administration.

DOLIVET—Coming from a general, I think that is very convincing.

DEUTSCH—I think it is the best thing for a general to speak frankly about his colleagues. My opinion is that military men should remain in their own sphere and not undertake civilian administration.

DOLIVET—Would you accept a foreign civilian administration for Germany?

DEUTSCH—I am against every kind of occupation. I think the best way to attain permanent peace would be for the German people to rule themselves. The best guarantee that the Germans would maintain peace lies in a democratic revolution in Germany.

DOLIVET—Benau, what do you think about this problem?

BENAU—I think we speak in this way because we are not in Europe. My opinion is—and it is not only my opinion but corroborated by the messages we receive from Czechoslovakia—that there does not exist a Czechoslovakian who will speak to a German, who will see a German. Every Czechoslovakian in the country is of the opinion that every word a German says is not true. There is not a family in Czechoslovakia that has not been victimized by the Germans. We must consider that it will be many, many years before we can work with the Germans. Therefore, the position of those Czechoslovakians who are for co-operating with the Germans will be very difficult when they return to their native land. I also feel that we cannot have peace in Europe without peace in Germany.

HAGEN—May I reply to our Polish and Czechoslovakian friends? I think we should recognize as fallacy the idea that a great nation can be educated by foreign pressure. Effective education is education by facts, by existing international conditions, not by setting up expeditionary pedagogical forces. An occupation of, say, twenty years would be education toward "revisionism." The truly democratic element in our country would again suffer the destiny of the weak Weimar democrats who were beaten by a revisionist majority created, not only internally by the relative backwardness of German political development, but by the mistakes of the foreign powers.

It is a fact that the German democratic majority lost four million votes after the last war, when the conditions of peace, and, particularly, the war guilt clause were published. Imagine the millions of young people who are to be pushed around for twenty years, who are to have no sense of national equality; then you will visualize that the result of the occupation may be precisely the opposite of what you intend to accomplish. The emphasis should be put on the re-education of Germans by their own democratic movements, and not by force from the outside.

DOLIVET—But Van Gelder offered us a solution which I have not heard as clearly expressed before. That is, the participation of the international labor movement in this process of re-education, as against occupation. Would that create the same feeling in Germany?

HAGEN—The feeling that international labor is not as responsible for this war as other forces is strong among German workers. The support and co-operation of the international labor movement would certainly be encouraging to the German democratic elements, but it cannot replace self-government and independence. The chief task for the democratic elements inside Germany remains to create its own regime. At the same time, I would urge the development of a European system into a federal system in which Germans would be a member state. Thus, she would be subject to majority rule in relation to other states, and yet retain a sense of equality.

DOLIVET—You said that historical experience proves that intervention from the outside is dangerous. There are historical instances which prove that nonintervention is equally dangerous. In 1933, and even earlier, people in France felt that when Hitler came into power, we should immediately

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intervene against him. I wish we had done it.

HAGEN – There are two kinds of intervention. One, where fascism or a similar regime, threatening the peace of the world, has arisen, and the democratic forces of the country are unable to cope with this reactionary power; then, of course, there is need for intervention. The democratic elements may actually ask for foreign intervention. There is, however, the other situation where the democratic elements have to be encouraged as the prime opposition to the rise of a nationalist movement of aggression. We do not reject international authority. We shall always recognize interdependence and the possible need of international intervention under certain conditions. But after the nazi defeat, we want to participate as equals in a new world, not as objects of foreign education. Only free people can practice democracy in a free world.

DOLIVET—Van Gelder, does this discussion satisfy you on the point you made, or not?

VAN GELDER—Well, to some extent, it clarified the thing. But while I think we have to admit that democracy will not grow and flower under a vigorous dictatorship, a military dictatorship, under any kind of a dictatorship imposed by reactionary elements of the United Nations, on the other hand, it may very well develop that the labor forces and the democratic forces in these countries will not be strong enough of themselves to control a country and seize the power and wield the power at the conclusion of the war.

I don't think that it is necessary now to give the answer, but I do think it is certainly one of the duties and the obligations of the labor movements of the United Nations to try to get sufficient influence in the peace settlement, so that they can guarantee help and favorable conditions within these countries, where democracy may flourish and develop.

DOLIVET – You presuppose, in your assumption, that the United Nations would be completely democratic and would really favor a democratic Germany?

VAN GELDER—Well, that is labor's job in the United Nations.

HAGEN – First, there is no doubt that whatever the strength and also the preparedness of international labor at the time of the peace conference may be, it would be desirable to have labor represented at the peace conference.

EHRENPREIS – May I inject a question here? What do you mean? Do you mean that labor people as representatives of the national government, or labor as an international entity, should be represented, and whom do you consider entitled to have labor representation?

DEUTSCH—I think we ought to avoid wishful thinking and look at the situation realistically. The remarks of Mr. Van Gelder showed me the dangers we have to face. Van Gelder pointed out that he believes labor in the United States is too weak to really have a voice at the peace table. I understand that is so. I have the impression that in the other United Nations the situation is not greatly different. Maybe England is an exception, but you must expect that in every country the labor movement will lack the strength to have real influence on its government at the time of the peace conference. If that is true, then you must count on reactionary tendencies in the army of occupation and in the civilian occupation too.

DOLIVET—Van Gelder, would you like to amplify your statement concerning American labor at the peace conference?

VAN GELDER—Let me just correct one impression here. I did not say that I think the American labor movement will have sufficient influence to be represented at the peace conference. I am perfectly willing to admit that, at the present moment, it would have very little influence. But I still think that it is very likely that the labor movement will have considerable influence by the time the peace is written. We don't know when the war is going to end. What I did say was that it is the job, as I understand

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it, of the labor movement to increase and develop its influence and to insist upon sufficient representation, so that by the time the peace is made, it will figure more largely in the councils of the United Nations than it does now, and I am optimistic enough to believe that we will make progress along that line.

IV

DOLIVET—Now Ehrenpreis, can we have a statement from you concerning the aspirations of Polish labor?

EHRENPREIS—Fortunately, we have a great many statements on this subject published in the Polish Underground press, and I am therefore able to present labor's own program rather than my opinions of what it may be.

The People's Tribune, a well known periodical of the Underground labor movement states, for example:

> In their battle for freedom, the masses of the Polish working people are not isolated. Their struggle is a part of the world struggle against totalitarianism which brings chains and destruction to the peoples of Europe. . . . The whole problem of Europe must be solved! The problems of the European nations add up to the common European problems. . . . There can be no return to pre-war Europe. The Europe of yesterday is the Europe of Versailles, a mass of economic and social contradictions, exposed to Fascism, constantly haunted by the imminence of war.

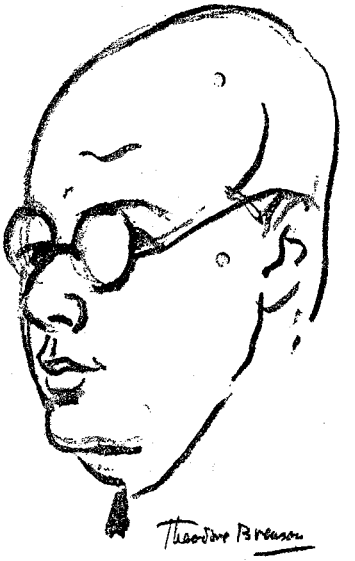
In the Manifesto of Freedom, published in November, 1939 by the Polish democratic Underground movement, the situation after a United Nations' victory is considered, and the hope is expressed that this victory will result in a federalist organization of the world. "An Allied victory must not mean the hegemony of one group of nations over others. From the chaos of war a new Europe must arise, organized upon the principles of political freedom and social justice."

In addition to its views on foreign policy, the Polish labor movement has expressed in great detail its aspirations in the domestic field. I know that lack of space will prevent the publication of extensive quotations from the "Program for a People's Poland," in which the political aims are formulated. This has been published in the United States and it is available to all who are interested. I need only say here that the Underground calls upon the first Government of independent Poland to "publish decrees which will define the basic outlines of the political and social-economic structure of the new Republic." Among other measures, the program demands that the People's Government promulgate the following reforms:

1. Agrarian reform. The great landed estates will be expropriated and turned into land reserves for parceling. These expropriated estates will be placed under the supervision of communal and district committees for land reform.
2. Expropriation and transfer to the State, local governments, or co-operative organizations, of industrial enterprises which are ripe for socialization, and their utilization for social purposes.
3. Reform of the fiscal system in the direction of a just distribution of the fiscal burden among all social groups.
4. Annulment of all the decrees of the occupant relating to the property and welfare of Polish citizens. All such property to be placed under the control of special agencies established for its supervision and protection.
5. Proclamation of the criminal responsibility of all citizens who betrayed Poland and served the interests of the occupant.
6. Establishment of special courts to try the officials, civil and military, of the pre-war regime, who were responsible for the abuses perpetrated under that regime and for the resultant harm to the State and the masses of the people.

The People's Government will establish a new electoral system for Parliament, based on democratic suffrage. It will also develop a plan for the reconstruction of Poland.

A five-point program of political reforms is also presented as a means of post-war reconstruction. It is



Wiktor J. Ehrenpreis

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an extraordinarily liberal and democratic document offering equal rights and equal opportunities to all citizens, regardless of religion or national origin. It specifically makes provision for the elimination of the Jewish problem which reactionary elements have exploited in the past for their own advantage.

DOLIVET—Hasn't the Czechoslovakian labor movement developed a specific program for the future?

BENAU—All messages from the Czechoslovak Underground call for a really democratic post-war world. They warn that the champions of the old order will set many traps to make impossible social and economic democracy. To frustrate similar tendencies, the Czechoslovak Government-in-exile included the demands of the Underground in Czechoslovakia in its post-war program.

The Czechoslovak Post-War Reconstruction Plan has the following eight points:

1. A higher value must be set on labor.
2. Public interest must take precedence over private profit.
3. Czechoslovakian economics must be directed and planned.
4. Mines, heavy and key industries, communications, natural energies, electric power, and the national bank must be nationalized. Finance and insurance must be organized on a new basis.
5. The direction of production must be controlled.
6. A policy of work and not a policy of financial support must be adopted to insure against unemployment.
7. Masaryk's Philadelphia conception of regional alliances between the states in Europe should be applied in the framework of collective security.
8. The standard of living must be raised.

I think that the Czechoslovak plan also covers the aspirations of the Underground in other countries. The trade unions desire a society founded on the four essential human freedoms which President Roosevelt proclaimed. These four freedoms are possible. But what happened between the first and second World War teaches us that only the third freedom, the freedom from want, the right of a high living standard for everybody, can secure all these four freedoms to mankind.

AUFHAUSER—In order to re-establish the international labor movement it will be necessary first to reorganize the movement in individual countries. The conditions in Germany are very different from all the other countries in Europe. There will be no "national" revolution in Germany, but the aim of the German workers is for a united action of all anti-nazi Germans, irrespective of creed and race, for the destruction of the nazi dictatorship and for a free Germany in a free Europe. The four freedoms of the Atlantic Charter will become the basis of the common struggle. The workers will try to establish close contact with the peasants.

Although the labor organizations have been destroyed, there are still two organized groups, the Social Democrats and the Communists. I am only entitled to state on behalf of the Social Democrats that they wish to create a democratic Germany. After the invasion of Germany the trade unions may have less difficulty in reorganizing a unified movement. The International Federation of Trade Unions has continued its activity and the workers in the plants in Germany will not want to split again into three groups. As parts of Germany are occupied, the labor unions will undoubtedly offer their services for relief work and for the restoration of civilian administration in the occupied regions. If the democratic powers accept these services, they will promote the development of the labor movement and of a democratic Germany.

DOLIVET—Have the workers of Norway formulated a program for the future?

MOE—The Norwegian workers are, first and foremost, concerned with keeping up the resistance against German oppression, and the labor movement keeps faithfully the political truce between all parties. In the main, however, I think the experiences during the invasion have only strengthened the view the Norwegian labor movement had before the invasion. This view was the natural result of its analysis of the depression. It was led to lay stress upon what was formerly considered a reformist activity, a fight against the depression. But its analysis clearly showed that this depression was a crisis in the capitalist system itself and that it could be solved only by reforms in the entire structure of capitalist

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society. Thus, the fight for the most immediate interests of the workers—the fight against the depression—was inevitably tied up with the revolutionary task of changing the structure of society.

The whole program of action is based upon these ideas. It consists partly of demands covering the interests of the working masses in all fields, partly of demands for structural reforms which will give the Government dominating control of the economic life and, at the same time, increase the directive power of the people. It is no longer considered necessary to carry through immediate and complete socialization. It is very important to note again that the Norwegian Labor party does not plan to socialize agriculture.

Louis Dolivet

As for the future form of government, the program states that it is the task of labor to carry through at the earliest possible moment a new economic organization, based on complete industrial democracy, with workers' control in the plants and industries. This industrial democracy shall give scope both for active participation of the masses, and for personal initiative and responsibility. The foregoing indicates that Norwegian labor is attempting to transform the present-day political democracy into an economic democracy, without abolishing the democratic rights of the working masses themselves.

If the experiences during the invasion have changed this outlook of the Norwegian Labor Government, it has certainly been in the direction of strengthening the feeling of national solidarity and lessening the opposition between classes. Norwegian labor today considers itself an integrate part of a democratic state and is recognized as such by the other classes of the population. That is also why we hope that the political fight will be less violent after the war, everybody recognizing the priority of the interests of the nation and of society as a whole, which naturally represents a tendency toward a more pronounced democracy than before.

V

DOLIVET—I think we may now consider the question as to how the United Nations can best utilize European labor in political warfare.

DEUTSCH—The United Nations can help themselves most by aiding the democratic forces in nazi subjugated countries. The war will be much shorter if European labor is convinced it will get this aid both during and after the war.

DOLIVET—You think there is still some fear about this?

DEUTSCH—Yes, our people in Austria have this fear. Through the Underground the question has come to me from Austria: "What is the reaction of the Allies to a democratic socialist labor movement and its goal in Austria?" The United Nations will not be able to avoid answering this question, not only for us, but for all the conquered countries.

DOLIVET—Can you give an example of what has created these fears?

DEUTSCH—Well, there was the Hapsburg case in the United States.

EHRENPREIS—While the question of the Hapsburgs, which is so disconcerting for our friends from other Central European countries is not so important for us, since only a small part of Poland was under Hapsburg domination, we realize that a return of the Hapsburgs in the Danubian Basin would preclude the possibility of a democratic federation there. The Polish Underground is, therefore, completely opposed to the return of the Hapsburgs, and has so expressed itself in the declaration.

ROSENFELD—German labor is the natural ally of the United Nations behind the line of the Nazis. Soviet Russia has recognized this truth, and its propaganda is therefore

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much more effective than the material distributed by the other United Nations. So long as there are such cases as the Hapsburg incident and the reported negotiations with Italian generals and Bavarian nobles, there must be some suspicion about the sincerity of the United Nations' propaganda. We German-Americans are now conducting a drive to get the signatures of German-American workers on a leaflet that will be circulated in Germany—we hope with the help of the American Government—to assure the German Underground movement that it has nothing to fear and that its development is desired as an aid to world peace.

VAN GELDER — It seems to me that we must recognize that messages, particularly those sent from this country to the Underground of Europe, cannot carry complete conviction as long as the policy of our Government is to deal with the Darlans of Axis satellites and to send war materials to Franco. In the meantime, the labor movements of the United Nations should do their best on their own responsibility to reach the Underground of Europe, with their offers of assistance and their pledges of support. Thus, while we are trying to straighten out, as far as we can through action in our own countries, the policies of the United States and the United Nations and make them a little more consistent with the Atlantic Charter and the Four Freedoms, at least European labor will understand that the American labor movement is sympathetic and has substantially the same ideals and objectives—even though our governments at the present moment may not be so regarded.

EHRENPREIS—In my opinion, it should be an essential element of political warfare to repeat and reiterate assurances to European peoples that no decisions, no possible decisions, at the peace conference or on any other occasion, would be made without their full participation and co-operation. The European people must be sure that an Allied victory in this war will not mean a change from the malevolent dictatorship of the Nazis to a benevolent dictatorship of the Allied powers. They must be assured that no regime would be imposed upon them which would be a regime not of their free choice; that no totalitarian decisions will be imposed on them as the result of a horse trade among the great powers; and that there will be, in these questions, full respect given to their will.

HAGEN—Philip Murray, the President of the CIO, has recently and publicly stated that the American trade union movement is going to support and protect all European labor organizations, including the labor organizations of the present enemy countries. That is a very important statement.

ROSENFELD—For the CIO?

HAGEN—Yes, for the CIO. There was also an official representative of the Railway Brotherhoods who supported this statement. The American Federation of Labor was represented but did not take action on this specific declaration, but it has several times expressed similar opinions.

What is necessary is to get American labor united in support of political warfare. That really encourages the people behind the lines. Therefore, I think the statement of Philip Murray and others should be widely publicized to the people in the enemy countries.

But even more important than propaganda that states the progressive war aims and differentiates between the Nazi and the anti-Nazi is direct organization of material help for the relatively weak Underground forces. This most essential factor in modern political warfare has up until now been understood only by one of the Allies, Russia. Recently the British have begun to do something in this field, but America is still conducting nineteenth-century warfare where no differentiation is made between the elements in an enemy country.

AUFHAUSER — Whoever wants to encourage the opposition inside Germany from abroad must take into account the workers' communities in the big industrial plants. It must be understood that the Germans are watching the military situation very closely in order to determine the right moment to start their revolt. But actual resistance springs from social conditions. Hitler and Goebbels understand this. For this reason they constantly stress the exploitation of workers in Great Britain and in the United States. To counteract this propaganda the Democracies must present in the simple language of the working man the contrast between the life of the workers

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in democratic countries and that of the people under nazi slavery. The German workers feel that they are slaves under Hitler's dictatorship; they must be told that there is something better in store for them.

DOLIVET—Benau, would you start the ball rolling on the fifth and last question, the role of European labor in the reconstruction of Europe, and the building of a world federation?

BENAU—We spoke about our aspirations in the third question, and I believe the fulfillment of those aspirations will be the only way of reconstructing Europe. We must have not only political but also economic and social democracy.

AUFHAUSER—When labor understands the lesson in the rise of nazism and fascism and in the outbreak of this World War, it will strive to eliminate the exaggerated nationalism that prevented a united opposition to Hitler on the part of the European Democracies. It will also be convinced that the time has come for the countries of Europe to join in a world-wide organization of nations, for only such an organization will be strong enough to prevent the hegemony of Germany in Europe and the inevitable secret armament that will lead to the next war. Furthermore, the labor movement will insist that political democracy be supplemented by industrial and economic democracy to rescue Europe from post-war economic chaos and depression and to provide full employment, social security, and individual freedom.

DOLIVET—Any other comments on this subject?

HAGEN—The labor forces, even though temporarily disorganized in this reactionary period, are in their traditions, in their organizational experience, and in their basic interests, the chief force for reconstruction in those countries where the democratic revolution has not been consummated. It was the role of the middle classes in the Anglo-Saxon countries to democratize their political institutions; in Europe, it is only labor that will be able to bring about the conditions, adjusted to our time, our technique, and our means of production, that will establish a dignified life for the masses, an international organization, and a lasting peace.

EHRENPREIS—In my opinion, a good piece of work, perhaps not on future international organization but on future international understanding, is being done by the labor organizations of the Underground in the different countries of Europe right now. It is well known that any Underground fighter, when he gets into another European country, finds friends, people with whom he can collaborate and who help him. These things will not be forgotten.

VAN GELDER — Certainly, the European labor movements have got to be depended upon to take the lead and to be the decisive factor in reconstructing Europe and constructing a world organization, if it is going to be the kind of world organization we are fighting for. I think that there must be more unity among the labor movements, not only of Europe, but of the United States, and the sooner the better.

It also seems to me that the Russian labor movement might have a great deal to offer in helping to develop a reconstructed Europe along the lines that we are hoping to see built, and certainly the Russian labor movement will have to be an important part of any kind of development toward world organization. If the European countries are going to be reconstituted, not as capitalist countries, as they have been, and the labor movements of those countries are going to control their governments, or to have a large measure of control, certainly the experience of the Russian labor movement and the setup of the Russian labor movement would have something to offer in the way of some new forms or new ideas that may develop a new type of industrial democracy.

EHRENPREIS — While the Polish labor movement is a great advocate of labor unity, I should like to remark that, in contrast to most European countries, we never had a split in the trade union movement. Our trade union movement was always nonfactional. That means that the Socialists collaborated with such Communists as there were. We would strongly object to including in the united front, however, any people dependent upon orders taken from abroad, because we want to include only people who will act for the well-being and interest of their own people, and not people who are acting in the interest of a foreign government.

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Cuban Approach *to the* Race Problem

by
Mercer Cook

IN the November, 1942 issue of FREE WORLD, I reported on the advances that Negroes had made since World War I. If that article were being written today, its tone would of necessity have been less optimistic, for since last fall numerous discouraging modifications have occurred. First, the FEPC, which promised the Negro a chance to work for democracy, has been reorganized and has dropped its most outspoken colored member. Secondly, as a protest against conditions in various camps, and especially in the air corps, Judge William Hastie has resigned his post as civilian aide to the Secretary of War. Then, competent Robert C. Weaver of the WMC has, according to all reports, been effectively silenced. And finally, the epidemic of race riots in cities as far apart as Beaumont, Texas, and Detroit, Michigan, has indicated that all is not for the best in the best of all possible democracies.

Perhaps our national pattern of racial discrimination and segregation is too deep-seated to be changed. That, at least, is what Hitler would like the world to believe. On the other hand, more liberals than this nation has seen since 1861 are actively campaigning to remove this fascist beam from the American eye. Pearl Buck, Eleanor Roosevelt, Wendell Willkie, and Vice-President Wallace—to name but a few—have taken the lead in this encouraging crusade. This writer shares their faith that the abuses can be corrected. For that reason, he is suggesting that we study the example of one of our Good Neighbors.

Potentially there is even more dynamite for racial conflict in Cuba than in this country. Whereas Negroes constitute but 10 per cent of our population, they form, according to the very elastic figures of the Cuban census, 27 per cent of that island's inhabitants. Unofficial estimates, like the statement reported by the Foreign Policy Association in 1935, place the figure as high as 50 per cent. Almost any educated colored Cuban can tell you how easy it is to be listed as white by the census authorities, and as *mestizo* after one is convicted of some misdemeanor. Despite this large colored segment, Cuba has not witnessed a race war since 1912. This record is all the more remarkable when we remember that Latins are traditionally hot-tempered, and that Cuba, like our own country, has a background of Negro slavery, the actual abolition of which is considerably more recent than ours. Slightly older Cubans can remember when Negroes did not ride in carriages, when colored women did not wear hats, when certain parks were reserved for whites, when Negro students could not attend the University of Havana. Yet today, white and colored Cubans seem to have struck a far saner balance, relatively speaking, than have white and colored North Americans. Socially, racial lines are drawn rather tightly, though somewhat more sensibly and less insultingly than in this country; economically, the Cuban Negro has legitimate grievances; but essentially the two groups live side by side in harmony.

The reasons for this harmony can readily be found in Cuban history. In both of the wars that Cuba waged for her independence—the Ten Years' War (1868-1878) and the War of 1895-1898—colored troops were in the majority. Those wars produced the two great heroes of the Republic: white José Martí and bronze General An-

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tonio Maceo, who lived and died for a free Cuba as brothers, thus setting an example in interracial tolerance to their compatriots. On last December 7, the anniversary of Maceo's death, schools, theaters, and stores in Havana were closed. Most of the day, the radio was silent, except for funeral music and an occasional news broadcast. That evening, the Senate and Chamber of Deputies met in their annual joint session to honor the memory of the Negro patriot.

The contrast between this situation and our own is obvious. In the United States, few schoolboys learn that one of the first to fall on Boston Commons was black Crispus Attucks. Few history books tell of Peter Salem and other colored soldiers in the Revolutionary War, or that black seamen fought in the War of 1812, while hastily organized militia in New Orleans helped Jackson to carry the day in 1815. The Negro soldier's rôle in the Civil War is hidden under the charge that ignorant blacks and Yankee carpetbaggers ruined the South during Reconstruction. The average textbook historian deliberately ignores the revelations of W. E. B. Du Bois and others that the South owes its public school system to these same legislators who, all things considered, were no less honest than the Lily Whites who succeeded them.

Before we can attain national sanity in our race relations, not only the teaching of American history, but our whole educational setup must be investigated. In Cuba, there are no segregated public schools. White children learn by day-to-day contact that all black Cubans are neither morons nor monsters, but ordinary youngsters like themselves. Occasionally, they meet a colored teacher, principal, or supervisor, and that, too, offers a good lesson in interracial tolerance. In the provinces of Oriente and Havana, for example, the superintendents of elementary instruction are colored women. Cuba's only university is attended by young people of various shades and colors; one of their most popular and capable professors is Dr. Ana Echegoyen, of the Department of Education. By the same token, there are one or two colored teachers in the Instituto de La Habana, the Normal School, and the San Alejandro School of Fine Arts. While it is true that the number of colored teachers is not proportionate with the Negro enrollment, the presence of the few who are employed indicates at least a tendency toward democracy that is significantly absent in most of our public schools, colleges, and universities. In the classrooms and on the campuses Cuban children learn to fraternize and to respect each other. No one who knows our South will expect this salutary precedent to be adopted in this generation. We may, nevertheless, hope that states like Florida, Georgia, Arkansas, and Mississippi will stop spending three times as much for the education of a white child as they expend for that of a black.

When the Cuban youngster attends Mass on Sunday, he sees colored folk in the same congregation, saying the same prayers, and taking the same communion. There is but one colored priest on the island; but once again, token representation is better than none, and the present archbishop has indicated that additional steps in this direction will be taken. Many believe that if the Latin American countries are less bigoted racially than we, it is because of the Catholic influence. More specifically, I should attribute the greater harmony to the opportunity that the church in Cuba, Peru, Brazil, etc., gives the faithful of both races to know, to understand each other. There is something tragically unchristian about a Christian church for white Christians only!

Another significant contrast between the Cuban and the United States approach to the race question is to be found in the field of politics. In 1910, a Negro senator, Morúa Delgado, sponsored a law forbidding the formation of any political party which does not include constituents of both groups. As a result, there are Negro Liberales, Demócratas, Auténticos, Comunistas, and even ABC's (a Rightist group that began as a secret society). Thus, political meetings afford additional opportunity for contact and comprehension. No effort is made to disfranchise hundreds of thousands of voters by a vicious poll tax, white primaries, or KKK intimidation. Whereas thirteen million Negroes in our country can send but one representative to Congress, one million colored Cubans are represented by at least twelve

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members in the Chamber of Deputies and by two senators. Several Cuban cities have Negro mayors, the most important of whom is Justo Salas, of Santiago, the island's second largest urban center. President Batista's present Cabinet has one colored member, Bravo Acosta, *Ministro de Gobernación,* and one undersecretary.

This political influence has not been used as a weapon with which to dominate the country, or even as a means of exerting mass pressure. As a matter of fact, with few exceptions, the Negro officials are especially careful to avoid any suspicion of racism. Several colored Cubans have told me that they are more likely to obtain favors from white representatives than from their own. Nevertheless, there is perhaps some evidence of their political power in the numbers of colored government employees. Barred through local or imported prejudice from most of the better positions in industry, the Cuban Negro has found some opportunity in the government service. I have visited many government buildings but have yet to witness any "segregated" offices, such as exist in Washington.

By the same token, Cuba's war effort is unhampered by segregated units in the armed forces. A few weeks ago, I visited one of the large camps in Havana, where I saw white and colored soldiers drilling, eating, and bunking side by side. One company in particular had a Negro captain, a white first lieutenant, a colored second lieutenant, and so on down the line.

In the Cuban Navy, the same camaraderie exists, although advancement for Negro soldiers is more rapid than for Negro seamen. According to my colored Cuban friends, the air force is the one branch of the service in which they are discriminated against. One or two have allegedly been admitted because they are light enough to "pass." The majority have been rejected on some pretext—flat feet, high blood pressure, and the like. One cynical acquaintance asked me whether the attitude or influence of our own air corps was in any way responsible for this discrimination. He pointed out that the planes are manufactured and Cuban pilots receive much of their training in the U. S. A.

Although there is a tendency to bar Negro tenants from the more modern apartment houses in Havana, many colored Cubans have white neighbors. Often they live in the same *solar.* And even in towns like Caibarién, where the best beach has separate accommodations for the two races, white and colored families often live next door to each other. There probably is no exact Cuban equivalent for Harlem, or for Beale, Basin, or Decatur Streets. Hotels admit Negro guests, though they sometimes try to avoid it.

Restaurants, theaters, and other public places are open to all. One or two of the more exclusive bars call themselves "Clubs," and have guards stationed at the doors to ask prospective Negro clients if they are members. One bar which allegedly follows this practice ironically bears the name "Pan American." But such cases are exceptional, and the Cuban Negro, pocketbook permitting, is admitted to any public place.

II

FREQUENTLY, the pocketbook does not permit. The economic status of the Cuban generally and of the darker Cuban, in particular, is pathetic. He owns few businesses, no banks, no insurance companies. Despite the decree which forces all commercial establishments to hire at least 50 per cent native help, he finds himself excluded from the better paying jobs. He rarely rises to a position of importance in the sugar or tobacco industries, and his womenfolk cannot even work as clerks in the leading department stores.

Thanks primarily to the efforts of the Communists, Article 74 of the 1940 Constitution was enacted. This law instructed the Minister of Labor to see to it that the colored Cuban obtains a fair share of the jobs in all newly created business enterprises. The stipulation that only "newly created businesses" were to be affected was an eloquent indication of the interracial amity that obtains on the island, for the Negroes themselves framed the law in those terms, lest white men already employed be discharged to make room for colored replacements. Such a move obviously would have created resentment. Unfortunately, this law has produced negligible results.

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Aside from the Federation of Colored Clubs, which functioned actively only at the time the new Constitution was being framed, the Cuban Negro has no organization with which to campaign for his rights. His clubs, like the Atenas and Unión Fraternal, are primarily social and cultural. He has no important newspapers to plead his cause. Incidentally, many of the outstanding Havana dailies—even the most conservative—have white and colored reporters. With the exception of separate social columns, these journals show little evidence of a segregated society. Certainly, they are leagues removed from our Southern papers which refuse to publish the photograph of an American hero if that hero happens to be colored! The very absence of a Negro press and of active pressure groups is sufficient indication that the race problem is less vitriolic in Cuba than in the United States.

If ever racial friction should develop in the neighboring Republic, it will probably be caused by economic discrimination. Seated on the lovely Prado in the heart of Havana, I have heard one colored Cuban say: "Look at those buildings facing us. Go into any one of them and see if you can find a single Negro doing anything but scrubbing floors!" Other colored Cubans, less resentful, have concurred in this indictment, but have attributed the condition to the fact that foreign capital dominates most of Cuba's businesses.

Nevertheless, it should be noted that many white and colored men work together in the rum distilleries, in the cigar factories, on the sugar plantations. When thus employed, they earn the same salaries; there is no wage differential in Cuba on account of color. On the streetcars one frequently sees a colored motorman and a white conductor. When asked about this, the president of the Havana Electric Railway Company, Frank Steinhardt, a Yale alumnus, told me: "That is a hand-me-down from colonial days, when it was thought that white lady passengers would shrink from contact with a Negro conductor." Today the Havana busses sometimes have colored conductors and no one objects. Moreover, Mr. Steinhardt assured me that there has never been any trouble because of his bi-racial employment policy. He even stressed the fact that the president of his employees' union is a colored man. Here again, the contrast is obvious. In our nation's capital, despite a shortage of streetcar workers, no Negroes have been hired. The same is true of other large urban centers in this country. Mr. Steinhardt offers to share his experience with anyone interested in obtaining information on the employment of Negro motormen in Havana.

Nevertheless, it should not be inferred that race prejudice is a phenomenon unknown in Cuba. The island's geographical position—between the Negro Republic of Haiti and what is sometimes called the "White Man's Country" to the North—makes her a crossroads of conflicting opinions on color. More than a century ago, one of her better known writers declared: "We have but one remedy: to get white, get white, get white, and then make ourselves respected!" Through the years, Cuba has been faced with the problems of Haitian, Chinese, and Jamaican immigration, not to mention the infiltration of racist ideas from Dixie. To have maintained her present degree of interracial harmony despite all these obstacles is almost a miracle.

White Cubans have asked me: "Why is it that North Americans, who are so sensible and practical on other matters, are so irrational on the Negro question?" The answer to that query lies largely in our different approach to the problem. Limiting our contacts with the Negro to a minimum, we accept the stereotypes as portrayed in motion pictures or fiction, or we judge the entire group in the light of our casual relations with one or two. On the contrary, the essential factor behind the Cuban solution is the greater contact between the races: in the schools, churches, armed forces, political life, and other phases of everyday existence. I have yet to meet a colored Cuban who did not have at least one white friend among his compatriots. This does not mean "social" equality; intermarriage on the island has become increasingly rare. However, because of the aforementioned contact and the resulting comprehension, the Cuban approach, notwithstanding its limitations, is more humane, more democratic, and more practical than ours.

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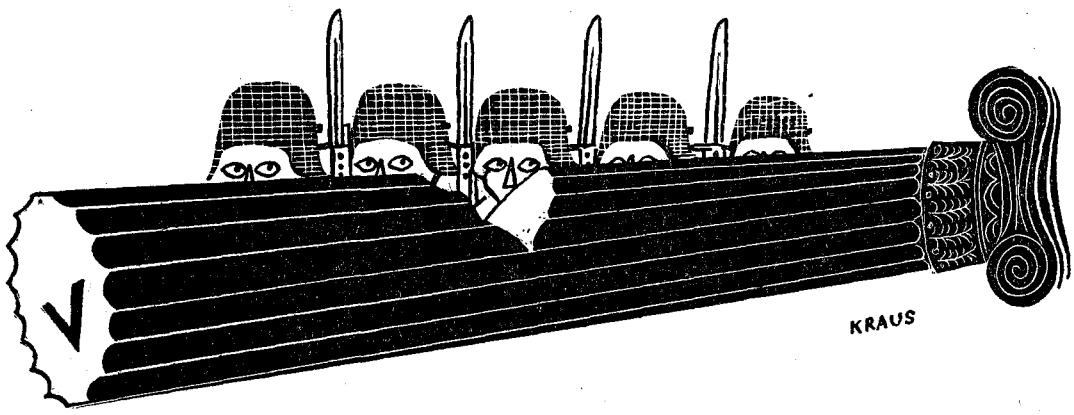
THE UNDERGROUND REPORTER



Greece Prepares for Invasion

by Pierre Dupont

"THE Greek people have only one ambition: to undermine the foundations of the New Order." So said the *Donau Zeitung*, a nazi periodical dealing with Balkan problems. No greater homage could be paid to the Greek people, proud of their tradition of liberty which neither repression nor famine can break. Before the fall of Mussolini, every fascist soldier sent to Greece was given a printed leaflet, warning him of the dangers that awaited him in that indomitable country. This is how the situation was depicted by the High Command of the occupation forces:

Unknown to you there exists, near to you and the places which you guard, a dark organization ready to seize a moment of distraction to take you unawares and to surprise you. These organizations are well armed and trained in guerrilla warfare. They are composed of men who will stop at nothing. They act not only against the lonely sentry and the corporal's guard, but also against military garrisons of superior strength. In favorable circumstances, the initial attack might well spread like a pool of oil, like a blaze, over a large area, even the whole country! Action is based always on surprise. All those taking part are strong men.

These "strong men" have at their disposal an Underground press, directed at every segment of the population. Movements which came into being since the occupation have ranged themselves alongside older political and economic groups to combat the enemy. The best known of these newer movements is the Front of National Liberation, which claims that it has no connection with any party. But it is comprised of representatives of those anti-fascist and democratic groups that before the war opposed the dictatorial regime of General Metaxas.

Formed almost immediately after the occupation, the Front of National Liberation has become the center for the co-ordination of the resistance movements, and it is charged with organizing major demonstrations against the Axis. For this purpose it has the support of the whole people, from Communists to Constitutional Monarchists. Its special position has enabled the movement to play an important role in unification of the guerrilla detachments which arose spontaneously from one end of the country to the other. Thanks to its influence on the peasants, the Front of National Liberation has rapidly taken first place among the resistance movements. It now controls a veritable army of guerrilla fighters, known as the People's Army of National Liberation, and it is prepared to strike at the moment of invasion.

Political Action

IN addition to military measures, this Underground movement considers political developments after the war. It is assumed that after the liberation of the country, a body elected freely on democratic principles will decide on the national constitution. The question which has disturbed certain sections of the resistance movement—Monarchy or Republic?—has not been raised. But the unconditional return of the King is, nevertheless, not taken for granted. The Metaxas dictatorship, made possible by King George, is a fact that the heads of the Front of Liberation are not ready to forget.

Four secret publications are issued by the Front of National Liberation: *Eleftheri Ellada* (Free Greece), *Zontana Neiata* (Living Youth), *Embros* (For-

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ΜΕΓΑΛΗ ΕΛΛΑΣ

ΟΡΓΑΝΟΝ ΤΗΣ ΣΤΡΑΤΙΑΣ ΣΚΛΑΒΩΜΕΝΩΝ ΝΙΚΗΤΩΝ

ΠΡΟΣ ΠΡΟΔΟΤΗΝ ΑΝΟΙΚΤΗ ΕΠΙΣΤΟΛΗ

ΣΤΡΑΤΗΣ ΤΣΟΛΑΚΟΓΛΟΥ

ward), and *Eleftheria* (Freedom). All the publications give pre-eminence to the strikes which have more than once enabled the workers to force a retreat on the part of the occupation authorities who had set out to persecute the leaders. Strikes are a weapon in the current struggle, and they are more successfully put to use in Greece than in certain other occupied countries. Experience has shown that the enemy is hesitant about forcing punishment in the face of patriotic unanimity.

Another group, known as the Army of Enslaved Victors, is especially active. It is composed of soldiers who fought and severely damaged the Italian armies in Albania. *Megali Ellas* (Great Greece), its publication, contains a very lively feature, "Traitors' Portrait Gallery," which sows terror among collaborationists. In a staccato style, the Army of Enslaved Victors defines its action as follows, in a proclamation addressed to all patriots:

Contribute to a just peace. Safeguard the popular democratic institutions in our country. Punish severely all Greek-speaking traitors and all those who find in the misery of the people an opportunity for dishonorable enrichment. Let the example of the sacrifices that must not have been made in vain inspire your every thought and your every action. It is a question of honor to you to continue the sacred struggle and uphold the torch of freedom.

The same summons to battle is found in *Dimocratis* (The Democrat). Although typographically inferior to other clandestine publications, and lacking their dynamism, *Dimocratis* publishes a good deal of information about resistance movements, and its foreign news, which stresses the weaknesses of the German army, is edited by a facile pen. The Communist party, outlawed under the old regime, is today participating actively in resistance against the invader, and is very influential among maritime and industrial workers. Its chief publication is *Rizospastis* (Radical), but several mimeographed bulletins are also circulated by the Communists.

Glory and Fighting Greece

THE list would be incomplete, however, without mention of two large independent Underground publications: *I Machoceni Ellas* (Fighting Greece), and *Doxa* (Glory), both of which appear in Athens. The first of these might serve as an example of how an Underground paper should be edited. After the general strike which took place last year in Athens and Piraeus, *I Machomeni Ellas* repeatedly emphasized the fact that direct action could force the authorities to ameliorate the conditions of workers and employees. When it reports guerrilla activity, it does not forget to follow the news with advice as to how the patriots who have taken up arms against the enemy might be aided. When it calls on its compatriots to hide in order to keep from being sent to Germany, it includes extracts of letters received from Germany by the families of those "transplanted" by force to the Reich, showing what atrocious conditions face these slaves of the Nazis. All these special characteristics explain the success of this independent publication.

Doxa, the other independent journal, is addressed primarily to Greek youth, which may explain its exalted tone. Its ideal is to regain liberty and to participate in the establishment of a free world that will find equilibrium and peace. With the exception of these generalities, the organ of the young generation has no post-war program. Through immediate action, Greek youth is earning the future right to speak.

The realities of Greek life disclose that instructions issued by the Underground are faithfully followed by the population, while the voice of traitors is lost in space. The Germans and Italians, who occupied the country and divided it into spheres of influence after discussions from which neither jealousy nor rivalry were excluded, consummated their plans with straw men and were unable to find a traitor who could win even a limited audience among the Greeks. After establishing two puppet Governments under Tsolakoglou and Logothetopoulos, the Nazis and the Fascists had to admit that neither one was capable of imposing the idea of collaboration on Greece. General Tsolakoglou was relieved of his functions in November, 1942, when he was unable to stop the wave of manifestations of which the culminating point was the one of October 28, the anniversary of the entry of Greece into the war.

That part of the press that had sold itself to the enemy called Tsolakoglou the victim of his compatriots' stupidity. *Kathemirini,* a collaborationist paper, wrote: "Tsolakoglou is the Cincinnatus of modern Greece who wears a crown of thorns upon his head." This pompous phrase is reminiscent

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of certain others offered in France to Marshal Pétain, who complained of being the misunderstood apostle of collaboration while the French people insisted on supporting those men who were struggling to liberate the country.

Logothetopoulos, Minister of Education in the first puppet Government, fell as disgracefully as his erstwhile chief, Tsolakoglou, last spring. The Nazis, unnerved by the spectre of invasion in the Balkans, were not in a mood to throw bouquets at a useless collaborator. He was simply dispatched and replaced by Rallis, another nazi agent in the good graces of the Gestapo. According to the *Donau Zeitung*, the purpose of the new Government was to "win the Greeks over to the struggle against the enemies of Germany, and to estabish order in the country."

The new Prime Minister issued a proclamation declaring that his Government would "wage war severely and pitilessly on those who seek to disturb order within the country." The Greek Quisling sent his agents into the cities of the province, to make the people "listen to reason." But the meetings called by the officials were turned into manifestations against the collaborationist Government. Rallis himself was supposed to speak at Kronos, the large Athens motion picture theater. An immense crowd gathered outside the theater, waiting for the traitor. Its hostility was so manifest that the puppet did not dare to appear. Known collaborationists were hounded; women spit in their faces; and the police had to interfere to save their lives.

Several arrests were made, but once again the Nazis were convinced that it was useless to rely on a Quisling. As to profiteer collaborationists, *Megali Ellas* had a warning for them: "Don't fool yourselves, sirs, nothing can save you now. You will pay for everything you have done, and not one of you will leave Greece." Nor are the Germans and the Italians sure of being able to get out when the day of reckoning comes. Civilian citizens of the two Axis countries have been warned that they must be ready to leave Greece without delay. Some months ago the Italians found evidence of defeatism in Athens; several hundred soldiers were imprisoned for refusing to follow orders to go to regions controlled by guerrillas.

Two Underground Forces

THE guerrillas, under the Front of National Liberation, have enough power to keep the invading armies constantly harassed. If these Free Fighters of the Front of National Liberation constitute the mass of organized guerrillas, one other figure emerges: Colonel Zervas, who directs several detachments. Numerous attacks, indicating great boldness and mastery of ambush warfare, were due to his initiative. Colonel Zervas is not the type of soldier who holds that the army needs be composed of "strong, silent men." On the contrary, he is interested in politics and believes in a "Greater Greece" after the liberation of the country. The term "Greater Greece" is not defined, but one may assume that it means, first of all, the reannexation of the Dodecanese Islands after thirty years of Italian rule.

It must be noted, however, that Colonel Zervas opposed the dictatorial regime of Metaxas. His recent rapprochement with the Government-in-exile evoked a great deal of comment, not only within Greece, but among those who follow the Greek political situation closely. Until recently, the Government-in-exile directed the war against the Axis outside of Greece as a member of the United Nations. Its connections with the Greek Underground were rather superficial, and the resistance movements led an independent existence. In a global fashion, the Government-in-exile approved the struggle against the enemy within Greece and—as far as possible—aided the guerrillas in accord with the British. But the independent existence of the resistance movements was not greatly affected.

When Colonel Zervas announced his loyalty to the King, it transformed the political picture. From then on the Underground had two camps: the Front of National Liberation, which leaves to the people the right to determine the political future of Greece; and that of Zervas, who has already affirmed his support of the monarchy of George II.

The Government-in-exile had been trying to wield more influence in Greece. The gesture made by Zervas was the first result of this policy, established on April 20, 1943, in an address delivered in Cairo by Emmanuel Tsouderos, Prime Minister of Greece. He phrased the post-war reconstruction program of his government as follows:

When the war is ended, Greece must turn to the great task of internal reorganization in the political, social, and eco-

ΔΟΞΑ
ΕΛΛΗΝΙΚΗ ΗΧΩ
ΕΚΔΙΔΕΤΑΙ ΑΠΟ ΤΗΝ ΠΑΝΕΛΛΗΝΙΟ ΕΝΩΣΙ ΑΓΩΝΙΖΟΜΕΝΩΝ ΝΕΩΝ
ΕΝΩΣΙ, ΑΓΩΝΑΣ, ΠΕΙΘΑΡΧΙΑ, ΑΛΛΗΛΕΓΓΥΗ !

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nomic fields. This must become a reality on the comprehensive basis of justice and equality, in order to better the lot of working classes which have always been the real creators of progress in all countries.

In the post-war period, the Greek people will have the deciding voice on all questions regarding them.

When the Greek flag is again hoisted over Athens, our duty will be to resign our mandate to govern so that a comprehensive coalition Government may be formed, including all the national forces, those already existing as parties as well as the fighting organizations.

Colonel Zervas was the first to declare that this program satisfied him. Now the reactions of the other Underground movements must be followed. These democratic Underground movements have been made very prudent by experience in recent years. In any case, the unification of the guerrilla forces is rapidly under way, passing from regional to national unity, and permitting greater co-ordination in the struggle against the enemy.

Heroes of the guerrilla war, such as Major Douras in the North, General Manoliman-Kadasi in the South, General Mandakas, who terrorized the Axis in Crete, and Commandant Bonapoulos, who operates in conjunction with Yugoslav guerrillas, will from now on fight according to a general plan worked out either by the Front of National Liberation or by the movement of Colonel Zervas.

In contrast to the situation in Yugoslavia, collaboration between the armed forces of resistance within Greece is complete, having been achieved with the assistance of a kind of neutrality on the part of the Government-in-exile. It is to be hoped that the position taken by Zervas will not change this state of affairs, and that one movement will not be favored at the expense of another.

Document from France

WE reprint some extraordinarily significant passages from the copy of a circular, dated May 25, 1943, sent out to men belonging to the Underground. It bears the following instructions: "To be read to all men belonging to the Underground and united resistance groups (Combat, Libération, Francs-Tireurs)."

1. Every man who applies to join one of the united resistance Underground groups is considered to be not only a defaulter from the German Labor Levy, but a volunteer member of the guerrilla forces and an auxiliary belonging to the French Army. . . .

3. He gives up any attempts to communicate with his family or his friends until after the war. He will keep absolutely secret the location of hide-outs, the identity of his leaders and his comrades. He knows that any infringement of this order will be punished by death. . . .

5. He knows that he cannot be promised any regular payment, and that it is uncertain that he will receive supplies and weapons. He declares that he has understood that anything at all which reaches him has only been obtained and distributed by constant effort, at the price of tremendous difficulties and extreme peril for all—upper ranks and liaison units. He will respect the private property and the life of civilians — whether they are French, Allied, or neutral, not only because the existence of the Underground movement depends upon good relations being maintained with the population, but also because the men who have joined the Underground are the elite of the nation and they should set everyone an example and make proof of bravery and honesty which are the chief traits of real Frenchmen.

6. In order to feed and clothe members of the Underground, we may be compelled to order the looting of shops, of the Vichy police force stores, and even food and clothing from the depots where the societies for National Relief and Prisoners' aid are keeping reserves. Such raids will be limited to the minimum and only made when it is absolutely unavoidable because our men must at all costs be kept alive. They will be performed by our best men who have been chosen with particular care because of their high moral character. As soon as we have enough weapons, we shall carry out such operations against the stores of the army of occupation exclusively.

7. It goes without saying that no religious or political distinction is made when admitting members. Catholics, Protestants, Moslems, Jews, or atheists; Royalists, Radicals, Socialists, or Communists—all Frenchmen who want to fight against our common enemy are welcome in our ranks. Each volunteer promises to respect the opinions and the beliefs of his comrades, tolerance being one of the finest virtues of Frenchmen. Only Hitler's flunkies have tried to invent fanaticism in France. Not only will any man in the Underground respect the opinions and beliefs of his comrades, but he will be a devoted friend, a true brother-in-arms. The safety of all depends on this, and it is the only thing which makes existence bearable in resistance hide-outs. . . .

France is alive and will continue to live!

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FOR AMERICANS

in

Time of Unity

BY ELEANOR WELLS

No bombs have fallen yet on the mountains
Or rutted the smooth green plain, nor will
The beach-heads be taken at dawn.
The houses are not crumbled to dust or
Burned by incendiaries to ash, nor will
Death lie in the streets this morning.

Nevertheless, there is a smear of oil offshore.
The shooting star that astonished the midnight sky
Was a flare going up. The fishermen have seen
Wreckage of ships washed in under the palms,
And men have come from the sea like drowned gods
With weeds in their hair. The planes circle
Endlessly like the frigate birds, watching
Like them for prey; and death, not touching us,
Makes a circle of danger around our shores.

And word comes from the other islands, from the
Small and distant atolls, from the land-mass
Of Eurasia and the Australian island, from
Frozen coastlines where the sky darkens
Even at noonday, word comes of death, of the

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Dying, of the struggle and the disaster. We
Who are safe, who are sheltered inland, who
Have never seen the arterial blood spurt from its
Sharp wound, or touched the burned body of a child,
Limp on the pavement; we who have never heard bombs
Whining to earth, must nevertheless hear the word
Coming to us of death. We cannot shelter
In meadow or forest, we cannot escape in
Cities or hide in the silence of night, for
The word comes on the wind and the stars
Bring messages, and it is printed in newspapers,
Whispered behind us, shouted for all to hear.

There is no place inviolate, no one alive
Who is without knowledge. You who walk
In a city of unbroken walls have brothers
Who wander cratered streets, searching the rubble,
You have friends who die of the cold hunger,
Friends whose bodies are stripped before burial,
Whose bodies are rotting in the abandoned villages.
Now you must see these others, now there can be
No exclusion, no place set aside, and your houses
And your minds will be invaded, and your hearts
Claimed as a territory and a conquest.

Do not think
That treaties will give you back to yourselves,
For they will not. Do not shut the doors
And the windows and draw the blinds; even
Within the closed house you will hear
Their voices calling across the undivided air,
And even at night, alone in darkness,
You will see their crippled bodies and their faces
And their strong unyielding unprotected eyes.

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BOOKS

Via Dolorosa

THE ROAD TO VICHY, 1918-1938, by Yves Simon. 210 pages. Sheed and Ward; $2.00

A FRENCH OFFICER'S DIARY, by D. Barlone, with a preface by General P. Le Gentilhomme. VIII + 156 pages. Macmillan; $2.00

VICHY, TWO YEARS OF DECEPTION, by Leon Marshal. 250 pages. Macmillan; $2.50

THE ENIGMA OF ADMIRAL DARLAN, by Alec de Montmorency. 194 pages. Dutton; $2.50

As Professor Simon so ably indicates, France has suffered in the uneasy years between the two World Wars—as throughout history—in a more acute manner the common malady of the Western world. While some of the characteristics of the experience are specifically French, the story of France in this period is also the history of the other Democracies. These books, therefore, take on an importance, not only for what they disclose but for the international implications of their disclosures.

Disappointment and dissatisfaction, skepticism and cynicism, extreme pacifism, on the one hand, and pro-fascism on the other, bewilderment and fear, hatred, anti-Semitism, xenophobia—all these and many more we find in every democratic country. It was not only France that pursued the policy of appeasement, of peace at any price. It was not only in France that the upper classes hailed the victory of the enemies of their country, that clever propaganda built up powerful Fifth Columns, that Czechoslovakia was branded as "war monger" and Russia as enemy number one; it was not only there that members of the privileged classes preferred Hitler to Stalin, or even to Blum . . . or Roosevelt.

"The Road to Vichy, 1918-1938" offers a clear and thorough analysis of the spiritual and social evolution which in twenty years transformed the intensely patriotic, and even nationalistic, French *bourgeoisie* into an easy prey for the nazi propaganda machine and lured it finally into "patriotic" adherence to the puppet Vichy Government. As for the latter, Professor Simon concludes that the Government of Marshal Pétain was set up by Hitler because, as a matter of fact, it was the best possible outcome of a bad situation for the Germans. He writes:

> Let us imagine that the Armistice, instead of being signed by Marshal Pétain, had been signed by some ordinary politician. It would not have been possible, then, to tell the French people that accepting the Nazi victory was a patriotic duty. . . . The French Empire would have continued, or resumed the struggle on the side of Great Britain; the Fascist Army in Africa and the Fascist Navy would have been rapidly annihilated; there would never have been a German Army in Libya. . . . From the Nazi viewpoint, such consequences had to be avoided at any cost.

The simplest and most efficient thing for the Germans to do was to set up a French Government composed of men who gambled on the defeat of the Allies, a Government headed by an "honorable" man, a conservative, a Catholic. They found Pétain. Thus supporting him and sometimes hiding themselves behind him, there were, "a number of people for whom nothing was more important than the destruction of democratic liberties and the establishment of a gang-dictatorship after the Nazi pattern. These people passed themselves off as nationalists (a word which will soon be synonymous with traitor) . . . and most of them came from the part of French society where the Nationalist party traditionally recruited its adherents."

Professor Simon makes clear that this adherence came from the conservative, chiefly Catholic, sections of French society, which, though traditionally hostile to the republican form of government, were, nevertheless, until about 1930, just as traditionally loyal to France. From that time, and especially since Hitler's assumption of power, they exchanged their former hatred of Germany for fear and hatred of Russia, of "communism" and of democracy.

The story unfolded by Professor Simon is that of a tired, disheartened, and disintegrating society, of a society that had lost its unifying and inspiring myths and that, divided and bewildered, blinded by hate and by fear, unable to recognize its friends from its foes, afraid of victory more than of war, collapsed under the onslaught of the enemy. I therefore strongly recommend the reading of "The Road to Vichy," not merely as a study of a particularly

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important period in the history of France, but as an exposition of the factors and forces that have affected the life of all Democracies.

The books of Captain Barlone and Mr. Marshal pick up the story where Professor Simon ends. The diary of Captain Barlone is a first-rate human document. Honest, laconic, it gives a good picture of the French Army during the first year of the war. It begins with the mobilization, the men "coming in without undue haste, without the enthusiasm of 1914 or even that of last year." Then comes the dreary winter of the "phony" war, with its demoralizing influence, the clever pacifist German propaganda, the sympathy for Finland, and the bewildering political developments on the home front. Still, the men are itching to march through Belgium to attack the Germans. But Belgium refuses. Then comes the German invasion and the defeat, Dunkirk, and England. The African Division dwindles from 18,000 to 1,250 men. And yet, morale is not broken; the men saved from the ordeal of Dunkirk come back to France prepared and ready to fight. As a matter of fact, the news that Pétain and Weygand have asked for an armistice comes as a heavy though not quite unexpected blow.

The influence of De Gaulle, the General's inspiration to these disheartened and disillusioned men shines forth in the terse comments of Captain Barlone. We realize how avidly they listened to De Gaulle's stirring broadcasts, and how effectively these messages warned them against the machinations of Hitler and his puppets. "One is dumbfounded in thinking of the role Pétain is playing. De Gaulle is right in warning us. How humiliating to think that Hitler has found a French Marshal that he can order about, that Pétain has to beg a Goebbels or a Goering to approve his speeches. Pétain! Who would have thought it!"

Mr. Marshal who, until the return of Laval to power, was counselor in charge of North African affairs of the Vichy Embassy in Washington, gives us less inside information than we can reasonably expect. Nevertheless, his book is a clear and vivid picture of the two years of deception perpetrated by the so-called French government. Perhaps two years of self-deception would be a more accurate characterization of this regime, for the Vichy gang never deceived anybody but themselves, and those who wanted to be deceived by it. It is not even certain that they ever succeeded in deceiving themselves. Thus, after signing the armistice, General Huntziger said: "If the war is not over by October, we are criminals." The self-deception lay in the belief that "England will be forced into capitulation before autumn," and that "the defeat would not be bought too dearly —that it might even turn out a good thing," if it permitted the restoration "of the good old times," destroyed by the Republic and by democracy.

The story of the tragic Vichy farce is, according to Mr. Marshal, the story of the struggle between the group of stupid reactionaries headed by Pétain, who believed in the possibility of establishing and promoting a clerically inspired "National Revolution" under the protection of Hitler, and the group of clever and unscrupulous scoundrels, led by Laval and Déat, who attempted the utter nazification of France and its complete subjugation to Germany. It is, at the same time, the story of the looting of France by Germany, and of the unyielding resistance of the French people to their Vichy masters and their nazi overlords.

It is inevitable that the personal equation enter into the discussions of our authors. However, they have rightly subordinated that element to the vastly more important features of the political scene. The author who with bad taste adopts the glorious name of Montmorency as a *nom de plume* lacks this sense of value. But he distorts everything else as well. He perverts the meaning of the words, patriot and traitor, in order to laud Admiral Darlan. (For him De Gaulle is a "Quisling" who sold himself to Churchill.) Yet he cannot help reveal facts which refute his own assumptions. Thus, he discloses that as far back as 1934, Admiral Darlan, as commander of the Atlantic Division of the French Fleet, "took part in the military plot whose nominal leader was Marshal Pétain and whose actual organizer was General Weygand. This coup, which was to have been carried out on the pattern of a Spanish pronunciamento, was intended to remove *manu militari* the radical French Government and to substitute for it a military dictatorship headed by Marshal Pétain."

M. de Montmorency does not find the "planning" of his hero in any way objectionable. After all, the people marked for "instant removal" were only Republicans and radicals, and MM. Pétain, Weygand, and Darlan, as well as the majority of the French Navy, being Royalists, felt no obligation whatever to the Republic. It is also interesting to learn how Darlan and Weygand, for years before the war, and especially after the collapse, filled the army and the navy of the French Republic with its passionate foes, how they succeeded in first discouraging and then simply removing all the loyal officers, how they hated England and America. To sum up: a very instructive book. The book of an "honest" traitor defending the memory of his master.

ALEXANDRE KOYRÉ

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Business with Hitler

PATENTS FOR HITLER, by Guenter Reimann. With an introduction by Creekmere Fath. iv + 316 pages. Vanguard; $2.50

THE main facts in this book are familiar to those who, during the past several years, have followed newspaper reports of Congressional hearings on cartels, patents, monopoly, and our lack of preparation for war. But Mr. Reimann tells his story well and the book will add to the knowledge of all but the closest students of those hearings. Key incidents are selected from the mass of material and presented so that a recurring pattern is seen in the account of all the market or patent agreements between American and German industrialists.

Usually, the Americans bought technological information and the right to its exclusive use in this country and some other parts of the world. The terms yielded the Germans a good financial return, the use of such processes as were developed by the American partner, and access to whatever information they wanted on the use of their patents in American industry, often including the right to inspect plants, which the German Government took advantage of in the name of the cartel. Often the Americans got less complete technological information than they thought they were getting. Acting under nazi instructions, the German firms restricted the development of crucial new materials in the United States and, as a rule, tried to keep the finished products from being sold to Britain, France, and other potential enemies of Germany.

The subjects Mr. Reimann covers are chiefly those which received the most public attention during the investigations: I. G. Farben's many chemical patents, aviation gasoline, optical glass, synthetic rubber, plastics, light metals, synthetic gasoline, and some kinds of explosives. The book's clear, rather short, chapters are probably the most easily available accounts of these episodes for the general reader. It would be wrong to give the impression that Mr. Reimann has done nothing but popularize the committee hearings. He includes the gist of numerous interviews, some of which contain statements by American corporation officials connected with these cases that provide interesting insights into their approach to the agreements. The author also brings to the writing a wide knowledge of cartel and trust problems and a familiarity with European experience in this field. Such a background strengthens his discussion of the role of the German cartels and provides the basis for several general chapters

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on the problems raised by the sad history that occupies most of the book. Although sometimes suggestive, the general discussion does not add a great deal to the existing thought on the subject of cartels and patents. The points that seem new are incompletely presented and do not appear to have been thought through.

It appears from Mr. Reimann's account that the American businessmen were not very bright in their dealings with the Germans. They paid a lot of money and often enough did not get all that they expected in the way of technological secrets. Whenever the Germans felt strong enough, they edged over a bit and the Americans lost a market that had been allocated to them or had to pay a larger share of their profits to the Germans. The American businessmen seem to have acted as if 49 per cent of the control of a company were not much less than 51 per cent. These are not the shrewd, hard, able, dangerous characters that some people have described as running the world behind the scenes: the boys who get what they want regardless of governments, parties, and ideologies. Are they real? If the Americans were "gypped" as much as it seems, what is the explanation? This book makes them seem not only politically naïve but pretty unbusinesslike.

These comments have been made on the assumption that Mr. Reimann presents a true bill. The one thing that raises doubts is his failure adequately to consider the arguments made by the American businessmen, or the case that could be made for them. True, he states and briefly refutes their chief contention, that the United States gained more by the technical information received from the Germans than it lost by accepting German restraints on American production. But we still lack a definitive exposition and analysis of the business argument for the agreements and the government case against them.

Mr. Reimann does not offer much help as to future policy. He mentions the two main approaches: restoration of competition and government "planning," and casts doubt on the usefulness of either. He suspects the first of being infeasible and probably incompatible with the needs of modern mass production. As for the second, national planning is too narrow, it leads to isolationism and trouble. Technology must be freed, says Mr. Reimann. We *cannot* have a national patent or cartel policy that ignores the rest of the world. All true, but where does it lead? What kind of policy will free technology and meet the needs of national interdependence? We know something more about cartels and patents from reading the book, but not about how to handle them.

WILLIAM DIEBOLD, JR.

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Prelude to Planning

THE WORLD AFTER WAR, by Henry Bamford Parkes. 233 pages. Crowell; $2.50

THIS is a cool, calm, starkly realistic book. Those who think in terms of much-mouthed but ill-served ideals will find it coldly scientific. Nevertheless, it is probably the best prelude to post-war planning that has been written, simply because it discards probabilities and considers the problem solely in terms of possibilities, viewing nations and humanity as they are and long have been.

Dr. Parkes visualizes the present war as a global conflict between satisfied and revisionist nations. So long as dominant power is in the hands of satisfied nonaggressor nations, so long peace is likely to be preserved. Such temporary stabilization breaks down whenever a sufficiently powerful nation or group of nations becomes dissatisfied and determines to resort to arms. But it is possible for nations to achieve a high standard of living without being endowed either with colonies or with rich natural resources. Switzerland and the Scandinavian countries have done so. It is also possible for a power, defeated in a war, to accept the defeat in good spirit and progress toward better internal conditions and become in all respects a better nation, as did Turkey after 1918. Many nations will do no such thing, however. They remain sullen after defeat and plan deadly revenge. In that case they must be controlled by force after armistice comes, not for just two or three years, but for as long as is necessary to preserve world peace.

In general, democratic nations tend to be satisfied, to fight only defensively, and to prefer peaceful pursuits to aggression. The reverse is true of nations under dictatorships. In the present conflict the issues are quite clear-cut because all the satisfied nations of importance are on one side, and all the dissatisfied nations that want a revised world order on their own terms are on the other. This time when our side wins, it should not make a punitive peace. But it should see to it that it retains power to compel the defeated nations to behave themselves for two or three generations at least. This means that the United States must deliberately and properly assume the position in world affairs that the greatest power on earth should have assumed long ago. It also means extremely close co-operation with Great Britain and parallel co-operation with Russia and China, both of which Parkes shows to be basically peaceful nonaggressor nations.

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are those that believe in the *status quo* and are so determined to maintain world peace that they will fearlessly go to war to do so. If peace could be maintained for two to four generations it might be accepted and even become very popular. Then, quite possibly, a decent world of free nations might come into existence. This is the essential message of the scientifically precise and stimulating chapters of Parkes's compact book.

T. Swann Harding

EUROPE, RUSSIA, AND THE FUTURE, by G. D. H. Cole. 233 pages. Macmillan; $2.00

Mr. Cole's book is a brilliant description of the new socialist school of thought in England that wants to discard the old social democratic policy and substitute immediate steps toward socialism. "The idea of nationality as the basis for independent statehood is obsolete. Economic development, including the development of the economic arts of war, has destroyed it finally." Mr. Cole, who sees a new Europe built on socialist foundations, exhorts Socialists "to think super-nationally, to think democratically, and to think realistically." He wants to recast democratic nationalism in a socialist mold, with "common ownership as the necessary basis of social equality," for he is convinced that this kind of socialism will not set one nation against another, but will make them partners in a common cause.

If Mr. Cole's view represents a large section of the British labor movement, a tremendous change is going on in the thinking of British socialism, carrying a promise of important repercussions on the reconstruction of Europe. It would indicate, moreover, a determination on the part of British labor to help build a socialist Europe free from some of the authoritarian aspects of Russian communism, but socialistic in content. In any case, it is a brilliant, well-written book and deserves the greatest attention.

ECONOMIC PROBLEMS OF WAR AND ITS AFTERMATH, edited by Chester W. Wright. xi + 197 pages. The University of Chicago Press; $2.00

This book is made up of a series of lectures delivered on the Walgreen Foundation at the University of Chicago in 1941-42. Six professors of that University and Moritz Bonn of the London School of Economics treat various economic and social problems raised by the war in terms meant to make the central issues of each subject clear to the layman. Price control, war finance, the economic lessons of previous wars, and the centralized political and economic control needed to run a war are all discussed.

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Professor J. U. Nef contributes fascinating material on the relation of military requirements to economic development in early modern times, and particularly between 1540 and 1640. Frank Knight, writing on individualism and the war, stresses the need to convert our economy to a controlled basis now, and to reconvert it to a market basis at the end of the war because political control cannot be substituted for the market without destroying liberty. This thesis does not give adequate consideration to the way in which the concentration of economic power may destroy the market and the possibility of government action to promote individualism. Mr. Bonn's lecture is concerned with structural changes in society affected by the war. Among the future developments he sees are: the spread of communism to some of the poorer regions of the earth, increased planning (though not necessarily on a socialist basis), the growth of monopoly organization, an increase in the number of property-owners coupled with a decrease in the importance of property, a continued decline of capitalism along paths already well-marked before the war.

ECONOMIC PROBLEMS OF WAR, by George A. Steiner and Associates. xi + 540 pages. Wiley; $4.50

Twenty-eight authors, drawn chiefly from the faculty of Indiana University, have combined efforts to write a solid and informative study of the many economic problems involved in the conduct of "total" war by an industrialized society in a mechanized age. Better organized than most such joint efforts, this is a useful book for the reference shelf of the serious student, and it may find wide adoption in college courses. The section on Japanese and German economic war organization, prepared under the direction of Robert Brady, is worth the price of admission. Recommended.

JOURNEY AMONG WARRIORS, by Eve Curie, 501 *pages with index. Doubleday;* $3.50

Like the biography of Madame Curie, this book is a labor of love—great labor and great love. And again, the subject is great. Eve Curie's recorded journey to the battle fronts of the United Nations on three continents is impressive for its wealth of observation, and for the ardor that the book sustains for the cause of freedom. It is probably the last quality that carries most power. It is a marvel to contemplate the industry that must have been necessary to make even a minimum of notes for such a packed volume, but the information alone is not unique. Sympathy brings the book to life. The picture of the fighters for Britain, France, Poland, Russia, and China during the clouded winter and spring of 1941–1942 is vivid and moving. Even the incidental acquaintances are memorable.

The book is readable, quotable—a medicine to resolution. It makes one wish to imitate the factory girl in Moscow who replied to the question of whether she got tired of her unrelieved working schedule: "We *like* it. We like working eleven hours." Eve Curie has worked her regular eleven hours and more, and she has put them into the battle for freedom and democracy.

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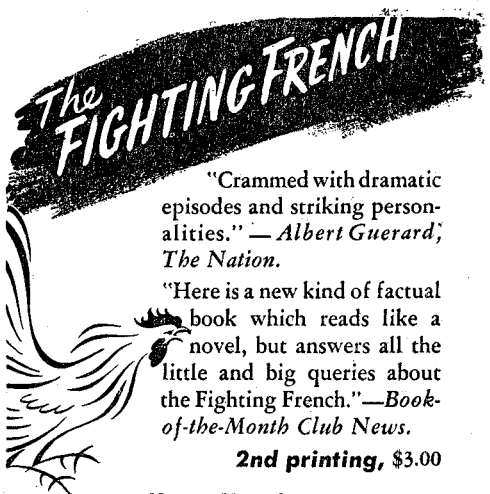

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Recommended Books for Free World Readers

FROM among the books that have been reviewed in our pages during the past six months, the Editors propose to choose a number that deserve the attention of those who seek to know the background, issues, and possible results of this war. The characterizations are taken from the reviews that appeared in our columns. All of these books are obtainable at your bookstore. They can also be obtained directly from FREE WORLD by filling out the coupon below, and they will be sent postage free upon receipt of the coupon and the price of the book. In buying books reviewed or advertised in these pages, please mention FREE WORLD.

☐ *A STUDY OF WAR, by Quincy Wright. Two volumes;* 1552 *pages. University of Chicago Press;* $15.00. "This reviewer hopes—and if it were in his power, he would so order—that Professor Wright's great work will become compulsory reading at least for all statesmen of the United Nations, for the members of the various existing agencies and boards, and for those who will be entrusted with the provisional administration of many territories, as a necessary preparation for the historic task of world organization. But he hopes also that it will come into the hands of the people, and that the common man will, in these two volumes, begin to master the science of history and of world organization, because it is, in the end, his fate which is at stake."

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WHO'S WHO IN THIS ISSUE

SIR NORMAN ANGELL is absent on a visit to Europe. Upon his return, he will resume his commentary, *Progress of the Struggle.*

THEODORE BRENSON is truly an international artist. He studied in Paris and Italy, and has exhibited his work in London, Zurich, Paris, Stockholm, Rome, as well as in the United States. He decorated the Town Hall of Poissy near Paris, doing one of the largest murals made in recent years in France in true al fresco. While in New York City, *MR. BRENSON* has been lecturing at the Ecole Libre des Hautes Etudes and at the New York Public Library.

MERCER COOK, professor in Atlanta University, will be recalled by the readers of FREE WORLD as the author of *The Negro Knows Fascism,* in our November, 1942 issue. *PROFESSOR COOK* is particularly qualified to speak about the interracial problem in Cuba. He has just spent nine months there, studying on a fellowship from the General Education Board of the Rockefeller Foundation.

WILLIAM DIEBOLD, JR., former member of the research staff of the Council on Foreign Relations, contributes regularly to FREE WORLD. He is the author of "New Directions in Our Trade Policy."

HARRY W. FLANNERY is one Notre Dame alumnus who did not play football. From the first, his interest lay in journalism and world affairs. He followed William Shirer as Berlin correspondent for C.B.S., and his book, "Assignment to Berlin," published in 1942, is a record of that stirring period in the history of Europe. *MR. FLANNERY* is now broadcasting from Hollywood as C.B.S. news analyst for the Pacific Coast.

T. SWANN HARDING, information specialist of the Department of Agriculture, is a regular contributor of articles and reviews to our pages.

DOROTHY KENYON has been practicing law since 1919, and became a Judge of the Municipal Court of New York City in 1939. She has been legal advisor to consumer co-operatives all over the country for the past twenty years. In 1937, she was one of a committee of four appointed by Secretary of Labor Frances Perkins to draft a model State Consumer Co-operative Corporations Law, which has since been adopted in the District of Columbia and several western states.

JUDGE KENYON subscribes to the recommendations of the United Nations Conference on Food and Agriculture: "That, in order to make it possible for people to help themselves in lowering costs of production and costs of distribution and marketing: (a) All countries study the possibilities of the further establishment of producer and consumer co-operative societies in order to render necessary production, marketing, purchasing, finance, and other services; (b) Each nation examine its laws, regulations, and institutions to determine if legal or institutional obstacles to co-operative development exist, in order to make desirable adjustments; (c) Full information as to the present development of co-operatives in different countries be made available through [a] permanent international organization."

Now professor at the Ecole Libre des Hautes Etudes and a member of the faculty of the New School for Social Research in New York, *ALEXANDRE KOYRE* was formerly professor of philosophy at the Sorbonne and at the universities of Montpellier and Cairo.

A versatile artist, *H. FELIX KRAUS* has done drawings, paintings, wood-cuts, and lithographs. He has exhibited in his native city of Vienna and in Rome, Geneva, Brussels, New York, and San Francisco. He has also written about art in many periodicals.

Each one of the monthly commentaries that *ERNEST K. LINDLEY* contributes to FREE WORLD offers cumulative proof of his closeness to the inside sources of information in Washington. *MR. LINDLEY* interrupted his vacation to tackle the questions that agitated the conference at Quebec.

SCHILLER MARMOREK was formerly an editor of the *Arbeiter Zeitung,* the daily newspaper of the Austrian Socialist party in Vienna. Now in the United States, he is working on a political history of France since the French Revolution.

No one can speak with more authority in the field of international health service than *DR. LUDWIK RAJCHMAN* whose notable career includes the post of director of the Health Organization of the League of Nations, from 1921 to 1939. Before that, he was director of the National Health Institute of Poland.

MARTHE RAJCHMAN is better known to our readers than her distinguished father. She

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has contributed maps to many issues of FREE WORLD. A collection of these maps would constitute an interpretive history of the war, for it is characteristic of her work that each one charts, not merely the physical, but also the political features of her subject. *MME. RAJCHMAN* is co-author with Edgar Ansel Mowrer of "Global War—An Atlas of World Strategy."

GAETANO SALVEMINI is noted in Italy as the biographer of Mazzini. He was forced to leave his native country in 1925 because of his outspoken opposition to fascism. Formerly a professor of history at the University of Florence, since 1933 *DR. SALVEMINI* has been Lauro de Bosis lecturer in the history of Italian civilization at Harvard University. He has recently collaborated with George La Piana, a church historian, on a book entitled, "What To Do With Italy," which will be published in September.

Although he has been working on the idea presented in his article for more than twelve years, *RALPH J. SCANLAN* first set it down on paper as a lengthy memorandum to Henry F. Grady in 1940, when the latter was Assistant Secretary of State. Mr. Grady, who had been closely associated with the author at the University of California and in the International Trade Department of the San Francisco Chamber of Commerce, encouraged further development of his thesis, with the results seen in our pages. *MR. SCANLAN* served as economist for the California State Bureau of Commerce and represented that organization at the Pan-American Reciprocal Trade Conference held in Sacramento in 1940.

MAJOR GENERAL W. C. TSEI, who came to the United States last year as a member of the Chinese Military Mission, started his career as a cadet at the famous Wangpao Military Academy, and passed through all ranks from corporal to colonel. He joined Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek in the expedition against the Peking Government during the Chinese Revolution, and has been associated with him ever since. After further study of military tactics, he became Chief of Staff of the 13th Division of the Chinese Army. Promoted to the rank of Vice-Commander of this Division, *GENERAL TSEI* led it in the early fighting against the Japanese until he joined the General Staff of the Chinese Army and was appointed Chief of the Operations Division.

Graduated from Wheaton College three years ago, *ELEANOR WELLS* has since worked in a bookstore and in a U.S.O. club in Jamaica, B.W.I. She is now a research assistant for *Collier's*. She has had poetry published in the *Atlantic* and the *New Republic,* and is working on a book about a British colony in time of war.

Again FREE WORLD can greet a newcomer to its family of magazines. A Greek monthly, making the seventh national edition of FREE WORLD, will soon make its appearance. It will be edited by Basil Vlavianos, editor and publisher of the *National Herald,* progressive Greek daily newspaper. Like other foreign language editions, the Greek *Free World* will enjoy complete reciprocity with our magazine in the use of articles of general interest. It will also publish material concerning specific Greek current political and social problems.

At the same time we are pleased to announce that arrangements have been made with ex-President Santos of Colombia, publisher of *Tiempo,* whereby this great daily will hereafter present in a weekly section articles culled from the issues of FREE WORLD and from our Latin American editions in Mexico, Chile, and Puerto Rico.

Another item of interest to our readers is that henceforth *Le Monde Libre,* our French edition, will appear monthly.

NOTES ON F. W. A.

DR. H. FERNANDEZ ARTUCIO, director of the Latin American section of the Free World Association, who is now visiting the countries of Central and South America in the interests of the movement, will contribute a series of articles in the near future on conditions and developments there. His tour, which has so far taken him from Mexico to Lima, Peru, and Santiago de Chile, has been a triumphant success. Everywhere large conferences and mass meetings have been organized by local chapters of the Free World Association. Among the other cities he has visited are: Balboa, Panama; La Guaira, Venezuela; Barranquilla, Colombia; and Quito, Ecuador. His itinerary from the middle of September till November 30 will include: Buenos Aires, Montevideo; La Paz, Bolivia; Asuncion, Paraguay; Sao Paulo, Brazil; Rio de Janeiro; and Porto Alegre.

A series of mass meetings have been arranged by the Bi-partisan Council to Win the Peace to take place on September 11 and 12 in many of the chief cities of the United States. Members of the Free World Association are urged to take an active part in the organization of these meetings. Combined with the Congressional Tour which is discussed elsewhere in this issue, these meetings will serve to enlighten the American public on the role of the United States in the coming peace and in the post-war world.

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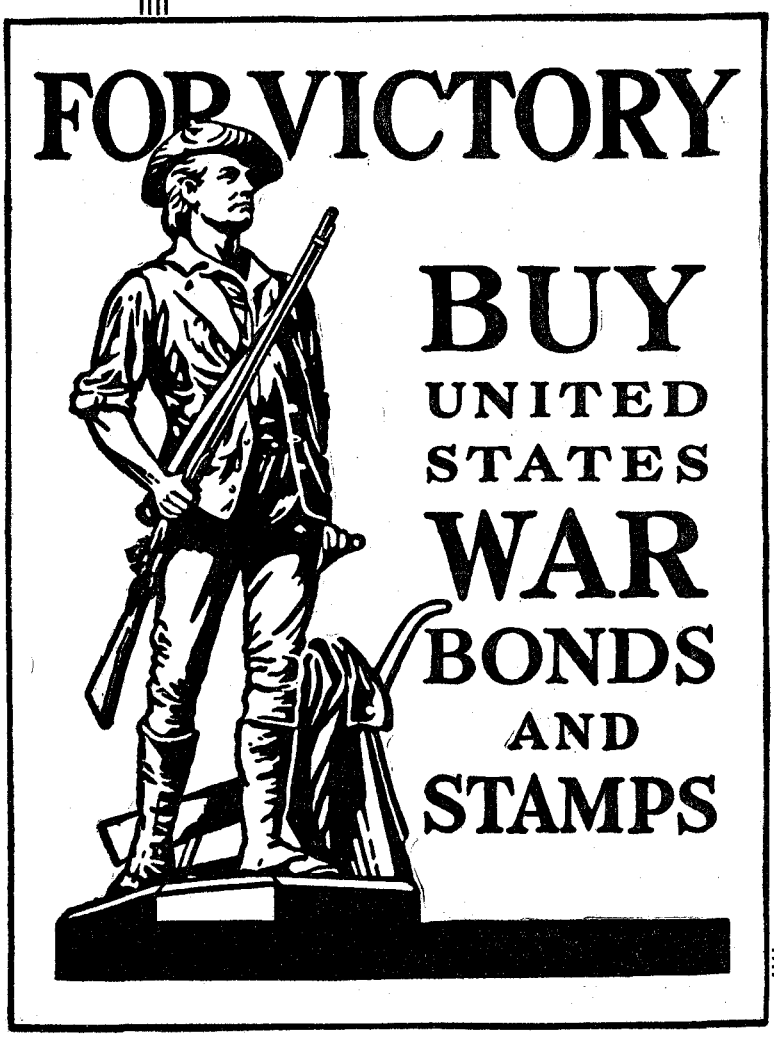

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